Marg't Thomas

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Selections.

CAN COLORED MEN BE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES?

OPINION OF THE U. S. ATTORNEY GENERAL.

TO SALMON P. CHASE, *Secretary of the Treasury.*

YOUR letter states that "the schooner Elizabeth and Margaret, of New Brunswick, is detained by the revenue cutter Tiger, at South Amboy, New Jersey, because commanded by a 'colored man,' and so by a person not a citizen of the United States. As colored masters are numerous in our coasting trade, I submit for opinion the question suggested by Capt. Martin of the Tiger: Are colored men citizens of the United States, and therefore competent to command American vessels?"

The question would have been more clearly stated if, instead of saying are colored men citizens, it had been said, can colored men be citizens of the United States; for within our borders and upon our ships, both of war and commerce, there may be colored men, and white men also, who are not citizens of the United States. In treating the subject I shall endeavor to answer your question as if it imported only this: Is a man legally incapacitated to be a citizen of the United States by the sole fact that he is a colored and not a white man?

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In my opinion the Constitution uses the word citizen only to express the political quality of the individual in his relations to the nation; to declare that he is a member of the body politic, and bound to it by the reciprocal obligation of allegiance on the one side and protection on the other. And I have no knowledge of any other kind of political citizenship, higher or lower, statal or national; or of any other sense in which the word has been used in the Constitution, or can be used properly in the laws of the United States. The phrase, "a citizen of the United States," without addition or qualification, means neither more nor less than a member of the nation. And all such are politically and legally equal—the child in the cradle and its father in the Senate are equally citizens of the United States. And it needs no argument to prove that every citizen of a State is, necessarily, a citizen of the United States; and to me it is equally clear that every citizen of the United States is a citizen of the particular State in which he is domiciled.

And as to voting and holding office, as that privilege is not essential to citizenship, so the deprivation of it by law is not a deprivation of citizenship. No more so in the case of a negro than in the case of a white woman or child.

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And in this connection the Constitution says not one word, and furnishes not one hint, in relation to the color or to the ancestral race of the "natural born citizen." Whatever may have been said in the opinions of judges and lawyers, and in State statutes, about negroes, mulattoes and persons of color, the Constitution is wholly silent upon that subject. The Constitution itself does not make the citizens (it is, in fact, made by them). It only intends and recognizes such of them as are natural—home-born—and provides for the naturalization of such of them as were alien—foreign-born—making the latter, as far as nature will allow, like the former.

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As far as I know, Mr. Secretary, you and I have no better title to the citizenship which we enjoy than "the accident of birth"—the fact that we happened to be born in the United States. And our Constitution, in speaking of natural born citizens, uses no affirmative language to make them such, but only recognizes and reaffirms the universal principle, common to all nations, and as old as political society, that the people born in a country do constitute the nation, and, as individuals, are natural members of the body politic.

If this be a true principle, and I do not doubt it, it follows that every person born in the country is, at the moment of birth, *prima facie* a citizen; and he who would deny it must take upon himself the burden of proving some great disfranchisement strong enough to override the "natural born" right as recognized by the Constitution in terms the most simple and comprehensive, and without any reference to race or color, or any other accidental circumstance.

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I have said that, *prima facie*, every person in this country is born a citizen; and that he who denies it in individual cases assumes the burden of stating the exception to the general rule, and proving the fact which works the disfranchisement. There are but few exceptions commonly made and urged as disqualifying facts. I lay no stress upon the small and admitted class of the natural-born composed of the children of foreign ministers and the like, and,

1\. *Slavery*, and whether or so it is legally possible for a slave to be a citizen. On that point I make no question, because it is not within the scope of your inquiry, and does not concern the person to whom your inquiry relates.

2\. *Color*.—It is strenuously insisted by some that "persons of color," though born in the country, are not capable of being citizens of the United States. As far as the Constitution is concerned, this is a naked assumption; for the Constitution contains not one word upon the subject. The exclusion, if it exists, must then rest upon some fundamental fact which, in the reason and nature of things, is so inconsistent with citizenship, that the two cannot coexist in the same person. Is mere color such a fact? Let those who assert it prove that it is so. It has never been so understood nor put into practice in the nation from which we derive our language, laws and institutions, and our very morals and modes of thought; and, as far as I know, there is not a single nation in Christendom which does not regard the new-found idea with incredulity and disgust. What can there be in the mere color of a man (we are speaking now not of race, but of color only) to disqualify him for bearing true and faithful allegiance to his native country? And these two, allegiance and protection, constitute the sum of the duties and rights of a "natural-born citizen of the United States."

3\. *Race*.—There are some who, abandoning the untenable objection of color, still contend that no person descended from negroes of the African race can be a citizen of the United States. Here the objection is not to color, but race only. The individual objected to may be of very long descent from African negroes, and may be as white as leprosy, or as the intermixture for many generations with the Caucasian race can make him; still, if he can be traced back to negroes of the African race, he cannot, they say, be a citizen of the United States! And why not? The Constitution certainly does not forbid it, but is silent about race as it is about color.

Our nationality was created and our political government exists by written law, and inasmuch as that law does not exclude persons of that descent, and as its terms are manifestly broad enough to include them, it follows inevitably that such persons, born in the country, must be citizens, unless the fact of African descent be so incompatible with the fact of citizenship that the two cannot exist together. If they can coexist, in nature and reason, then they do coexist in persons of the indicated class, for there is no law to the contrary. I am not able to perceive any antagonism, legal or natural, between the two facts.

But it is said that African negroes are a degraded race, and that all who are tainted with the degradation are forever disqualified for the functions of citizenship. I can hardly comprehend the thought of the absolute incompatibility of degradation and citizenship. I thought that they often went together. But if it be true with regard to races, it seems to me more cogently true with regard to individuals. And if I be right in this, there are many sorrowful examples in the legislation and practice of [illegible] may be in the Union [illegible] wisdom and justice of his fellow-citizens. In the early legislation of a number of the States the most humiliating punishments were denounced against persons guilty of certain crimes and misdemeanors—the lash, the pillory, the cropping of the ears and the branding of the face with an indelible mark of infamy. And yet a lower depth; in several of the States the common punishment of the crime of vagrancy was sale into bondage at public auction! And yet I have not read that such unfortunates thereby lost their natural-born citizenship, nor that their descendants are doomed to perpetual exclusion and degradation.

I am inclined to think that these objections, as to color and ancestral race, arise entirely from a wrong conception of the nature and qualities of citizenship, and from the loose and unguarded phraseology too often used in the discussion of the subject.

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In discussing this subject it is a misleading error to fail to mark the natural and characteristic distinction between political rights and political powers. The former belong to all citizens alike, and cohere in the very name and nature of citizenship. The latter (participation in the powers of government by voting and exercising office) does not belong to all citizens alike, nor to any citizen, merely in virtue of citizenship. His power always depends upon extraneous facts and superadded qualifications; which facts and qualifications are common to both citizens and aliens.

In referring to the authorities commonly adduced by those who deny the citizenship of colored people, I do not pretend to cite them all, but a few only of such as I believe to be most usually relied upon. And I will not trouble you with a detailed examination of the reasoning employed in each case, for I have already stated my own views of the principles and laws involved in the questions, and where they conflict with the arguments upon which the contrary opinion is founded I still adhere to my own.

The first of these authorities of which I will treat is the opinion of my predecessor, Mr. Wirt, upon a case precisely like the present, except that in that case the "free person of color" was a Virginian, and the objections to his competency were founded mainly, if not entirely, upon Virginia law. (See Opinions of Attorneys-General, Vol. I., p. 506, dated Nov. 7, 1821.) I have examined this opinion with the greater care, because of the writer's reputation for learning and his known and varied excellencies as a man.

In that case the precise question was, "whether free persons of color are, in Virginia, citizens of the United States, within the intent and meaning of the acts regulating foreign and coasting trade, so as to be qualified to command vessels." And thus Mr. Wirt was in a manner invited to consider the question rather in a statal than a national point of view; and hence we ought not to be surprised to find the whole argument for the exclusion based upon local institutions and statal laws.

As a general answer to all such arguments, I have this to say: Every citizen of the United States is a component member of the nation, with rights and duties, under the Constitution and laws of the United States, which cannot be destroyed or abridged by the laws of any particular State. The laws of the State, if they conflict with the laws of the nation, are of no force. The Constitution is plain beyond cavil upon this point. Article 6: "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties, etc., shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." And from this I assume that every person who is a citizen of the United States, whether by birth or by naturalization, holds his great franchise by the laws of the United States, and above the control of any particular State citizenship of the United States as an integral thing, incapable of legal existence in fractional parts. [illegible] nation, and cannot be (as the argument of my learned predecessor seems to suppose) such citizen in one State and not in another.

I fully concur in the statement that the description "citizen of the United States, used in the Constitution, has the same meaning that it has in the several acts of Congress passed under the authority of the Constitution." And I freely declare my inability to conceive of any second or subordinate meaning of the phrase as used in all these instruments. It means in them all the simple expression of the political status of the person in connection with the nation—that he is a member of the body politic. And that is all it means, for it does not specify his rights and duties as a citizen, nor in any way refer to such "rights, privileges and immunities" as he may happen to have, by State laws or otherwise, over and beyond what legally and naturally belong to him in his quality of citizen of the United States. State laws may and do, nay, must, vest in individuals great privileges, powers and duties which do not belong to the mass of their fellow-citizens, and in doing so they consult discretion and convenience only. One citizen, who happens to be a judge, may, under proper circumstances, sentence another to be hanged, and a third, who happens to be Governor, may grant a pardon to the condemned man, who, as a citizen, is the undoubted peer of both the judge and the Governor. As to the objection (not in law but sentiment only) that if a negro can be a citizen of the United States, he might possibly be President, the legal inference is true. There would be such a legal possibility. But those who make that objection are not arguing upon the Constitution as it is, but upon what, in their own minds and feelings, they think it ought to be. Moreover, they seem to forget that all limitations upon eligibility to office are less restrictions upon the rights of aspirants than upon the powers of electors. Even the Legislature of the State, however unanimous, have no power to send to the Senate of the United States their wisest and best man, unless he be thirty years old. All the people of the nation, speaking with one united voice, cannot, constitutionally, make any man President who happens to be under thirty-five. This is, obviously, a restriction upon the appointing power—that is, in our popular government, a restriction upon the people themselves. As individuals we may like it or dislike it, and flatter ourselves into the belief that we could make a wiser and better frame of government than our fathers made. Still it is our Constitution, binding upon us and upon every citizen from the moment of birth or naturalization.

The Constitution, I suppose, says what it means, and does not mean what it does not say. It says nothing about "the high characteristic privileges of a citizen of the State" (of Virginia or any other). I do not know what they were, but certainly in Virginia, for the first half of the existence of the Commonwealth, the right of suffrage was not one of them. For during that period no man ever voted there because he was a free white adult male citizen. He voted on his freehold in land; and no candidate, in soliciting his election, appealed to the people or the citizens, but to the freeholders only, for they alone could vote.

I shall not trouble you with any argument touching the list of disabilities declared by the laws of Virginia against free negroes and mulattoes, as stated in the opinion, because they are such only as the Legislature, if so minded, might have denounced as well as against a portion of its own acknowledged citizens, whose weakness might necessitate submission.

It is said in the opinion that "the allegiance which the free man of color owes to the State of Virginia is no evidence of citizenship, for he owes it not in consequence of an oath of allegiance." This proposition surprises me; perhaps I do not understand it. I did verily believe that the oath of allegiance was not the cause, but the sequence of citizenship, given only as a solemn guarantee for the performance of duties already incurred. But if it be true that the oath of allegiance must either create or precede citizenship, then it follows, of necessity, that there can be no natural-born citizen, as the Constitution affirms, because the child must needs be born before it can take the oath.

The opinion, supported by the arguments upon which I have commented, is in these words:

"Upon the whole, I am of the opinion that free persons of color in Virginia are not citizens of the United States, within the intent and meaning of the acts regulating foreign and coasting trade, so as to be qualified to command vessels."

As an authority this opinion is rebutted by the opinion of Attorney-General Legare, above cited. (4 Op. A. G., 147, date March 15, 1843). Under an act of Congress which limited the preemption of public land to citizens of the United States, and aliens who had declared intention to become citizens, according to the naturalization laws, Mr. Legare was of opinion that a free colored man [illegible] opinion Mr. Legare makes a just distinction between political and civil rights, which, I believe, is common to most nations. The French code expresses it very plainly, thus: "L'exercise des droits civils est independant de la qualite de citoyen, laquelle ne s'acquiert et ne se conserve que conformément à la loi constitutionelle."

The next authority I shall consider is a decision of the Department of State made in Mr. Marcy's time, Nov. 4, 1856, and evidenced by a letter of that date from Mr. Thomas, Assistant Secretary, to Mr. Rice, of New York. That decision is entitled to great consideration, because upon such political questions the Secretary of State is of high authority. The case was on application for passports to travel in foreign parts, in favor of certain free blacks of some of the Northern States, and the time was a few months after the passage of the act of August 18, 1856 (the first act directing the issuing of passports to individuals and restricting the issue to citizens of the United States, though the practice is much older).

The letter, after stating the case, declares emphatically that "if this be so (*i. e.*, if they be negroes), that there can be no doubt that they are not citizens of the United States." If this stood alone there could be no doubt of the opinion of the Department at that time. But it does not stand alone. The letter, after citing several authorities, and among them one from Tennessee, to which I will have occasion to refer by name, concludes with this qualifying paragraph, which leaves some doubt as to what was the real practical opinion of Mr. Secretary Marcy at that time. The letter, assuming that a passport is a certificate of citizenship, proceeds to say:

"Such being the construction of the Constitution in regard to free persons of color, it is conceived that they cannot be regarded, when beyond the jurisdiction of this government, as entitled to the full rights of citizens, but the Secretary directs me to say that though the department could not certify that such persons are citizens of the United States, yet, satisfied of the truth of the facts, it would give a certificate that they were born in the United States, are free, and that the government thereof would regard it to be its duty to protect them, if wronged by a foreign government, while within its jurisdiction for a legal and proper purpose."

It seems to me that the certificate proposed to be given would be, in substance and fact, a good passport, for the act of Congress prescribes no form for the passport, and requires no particular fact to appear upon its face. And I confidently believe that there is not a government in Europe which, in view of our laws of citizenship, would question the validity of a passport which declares upon its face that the bearer is a free natural born inhabitant of the United States.

I turn now to the consideration of the Tennessee case, referred to and relied upon in the letter from the State Department, the State of Tennessee *agt.* Ambrose (1 Meig's R., 331), adjudged in 1838. Ambrose, being a free negro emancipated in Kentucky, moved to and settled in Tennessee. He was indicted for that crime against the Tennessee statute, made to prevent the ingress of that sort of people. He demurred to the indictment upon the ground that he was a citizen of Kentucky, and as such had a right under the Constitution of the United States (Art. 4, Sec. 2) to go to and abide in Tennessee in spite of the State statute. The Court in which the indictment was found sustained the demurrer. The public prosecutor took the case up to the Supreme Court, where the judgment below was reversed, and it was held by the Court that Ambrose, under the circumstances, could not be a citizen of Kentucky, and therefore could not claim the protection of the National Constitution as against the Tennessee statute.

I must trouble you with a few remarks upon certain passages in the opinion of the Court, which constitute the foundation of the judgment, and without which the judgment itself, having no legal basis to rest upon, ought not to have any authority as a precedent.

The [illegible] (reciting the case and citing from [illegible] State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," proceeds: "The citizens here spoken of (says the Supreme Court of Tennessee) are those who are entitled to 'all the privileges and immunities of citizens.' But free negroes, by whatever appellation we call them, were never in any of the States entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens, and consequently were not intended to be included when this word was used in the Constitution."

"In this country" (continues the Court), "under the free government created by the Constitution, whose language we are expounding, the humblest white citizen is entitled to all 'the privileges and immunities' which the most exalted one enjoys. Hence, in speaking of the rights which a citizen of one State shall enjoy in every other State, as applicable to white men, it is very properly said that he should be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in each other State. The meaning of the language is that no privilege enjoyed by, or immunity allowed to, the most favored class of citizens in said State shall be withheld from a citizen of any other State. How can it be said that he enjoys all the privileges, when he is scarcely allowed a single right in common with the mass of the citizens of the State?

"It cannot be; and therefore either the free negro is not a citizen, in the sense of the Constitution, or, if a citizen, he is entitled to 'all the privileges and immunities' of the most favored class of citizens. But this latter consequence will be contended for by no one. It must then follow that they are not citizens."

These are the foundations of the judgment in the case of Ambrose, and not only in that but in almost every similar case which I have had occasion to examine. A good deal of what I have already said is strictly applicable here, and in trying to show the fallacy of the reasoning of the Court in Tennessee, I must take the risk of some needless repetition.

The leading thought, that, indeed, which seems to have compelled the judgment against Ambrose is, in my opinion, a naked assumption, not supported by any word of written law, nor maintainable by logical argument. It is assumed that a person to be a citizen at all must have all the rights, privileges and immunities which the most favored one enjoys; all of the most favored class of citizens. Now, if there be grades and classes of citizens (which I am not exactly willing to admit), it would seem that there must be something to distinguish the grades; some difference in the rights, privileges and immunities of the different classes. And yet the Court, while asserting the existence of different classes of citizens, asserts also their equality, by declaring that "the humblest white citizen is entitled to all the 'privileges and immunities' which the most exalted one enjoys." Then what marks the difference of classes? By what line can we separate humility from exaltation, as applied to a citizen?

In fact, it seems to me that the difficulties which surround the subject are artificial, created by the habitual confounding of things different in their nature and origin, and by the persistent abuse of language. No distinction is drawn between the rights and duties of a man as a citizen and his rights and duties as a member of society, without regard to his citizenship. The first are political merely—the last civil and social only. And the words rights, privileges, immunities are abusively used, as if they were synonymous. The word rights is generic, common, embracing whatever may be lawfully claimed. Privileges are special rights, belonging to the individual or class, and not to the mass. Immunities are rights of exemption only—freedom from what otherwise would be a duty, obligation or burden. For instance, the Constitution of Tennessee (Art. 4, Sec. 1) declares that "all free men of color shall be exempt from military duty in time of peace, and also from paying a free poll tax." This is an immunity.

But whether there be or be not grades and classes of citizens, higher or lower, more or less favored, is wholly immaterial to this question. For the Constitution speaks of citizens only, without any reference to their rank, grade or class, or to the number or magnitude of their rights, privileges and immunities—citizens simply, without an adjective to qualify, enlarge or diminish their rights and capacities. Therefore, if there be grades and classes of citizens, still, the lowest individual of the lowest possible class is a citizen, and as such fills the requirement of the Constitution.

If we must have grades and classes of citizens, higher and lower, more and less favored, it seems to me impossible to sustain the proposition of the Court that the humblest and the most exalted are entitled to equal privileges and immunities. A free, white natural born female infant is certainly a citizen, and I suppose it would be but reasonable to place her in the lowest class. And I assume that it would not be deemed unreasonable to call that class the high[illegible] eligibility to the Presidency be a privilege in this [illegible] lawful candidate—a peculiar right belonging to him and not to the mass of citizens—then there is some difference; she is not entitled to all his privileges.

Those who most indulge in the assumption that to constitute a citizen at all the person must have all the privileges and immunities which any citizen can enjoy, rarely venture to specify precisely what they mean. Generally, I think, the inference is plain that they mean suffrage and eligibility; and, in that connection I think I have already shown that suffrage and eligibility have no necessary connection with citizenship, and that the one may, and often does, exist without the other.

Again, "immunities" are enjoyed to a very large extent by free negroes in all the slaveholding States. They are generally exempted by law from the onerous duties of jurors in the courts, and militia men in the field; and these are immunities eagerly desired by many white men in all the States.

In another part of that opinion, the Court declares that the word "freemen," as used in the Constitution of Tennessee, is equivalent to citizen; and yet the Court denies that the phrase "free men of color," used in the same Constitution, is a proper designation of citizens! I close my remarks upon that case with an extract from the Constitution of Tennessee (which was originally made in 1795, and amended in 1835), reminding you only that, until 1790, Tennessee was a part of North Carolina and subject to its Constitution and laws, and hence the peculiar phraseology of the extract:

"Article 4, Section 1. Every free white man, of the age of twenty-one years, being a citizen of the United States and a citizen of the County wherein he may offer his vote six months next preceding the day of election, shall be entitled to vote for members of the General Assembly and other civil officers for the County or district in which he resides, provided that no person shall be disqualified for voting, in any election, on account of color, who is now, by the laws of this State, a competent witness in a Court of Justice against a white man. All freemen of color shall be exempt from military duty in time of peace, and also from paying a free poll-tax."

Finally the celebrated case of Scott *agt.* Sandford, 19 Howard's Reports, 393, is sometimes cited as a direct authority against the capacity of free persons of color to be citizens of the United States. This is an entire mistake. The case, as it stands on record, does not determine, nor purport to determine, that question. It was an ordinary suit for freedom, very common in our jurisprudence, and especially provided for in the legislation of most of the slaveholding States, as it is in Missouri. For convenience the form of the action usually is (and is in this case) trespass, alleging an assault and battery and false imprisonment, so as to enable the defendant (the master), if he choose, to make a direct issue upon the freedom or slavery of the plaintiff, which is the real point and object of the action, by pleading, in justification of the alleged trespass, that the plaintiff is a slave—his own or another man's.

Such an action, Dred Scott, if entitled to freedom, might have brought in the State Court, without any allegation of citizenship, and without being, in fact, a citizen. But it seems he desired to bring his action in the Circuit Court of the United States in Missouri; and, to enable him to do that, he had to allege citizenship, because Mr. Sandford, the defendant, was a citizen of New York, and unless the plaintiff were a citizen of Missouri (or some other State) the National Court had no jurisdiction of the case.

The plaintiff having made his election to sue in the United States Court, the defendant might, if he would, have pleaded in bar to the merits of the action, but he exercised his election to plead in abatement to the jurisdiction of the Court; thus, that the action, if any, "accrued to the said Dred Scott out of the jurisdiction of this Court, and exclusively within the jurisdiction of the courts of the State of Missouri, for that, to wit, the said plaintiff, Dred Scott, is not a citizen of the State of Missouri, as alleged in his declaration (not because he was not born there, and born free, but) because he is a negro of African descent; his ancestors were of pure African blood, and were brought into this country and sold as negro slaves, and this the said Sandford is ready to verify. Wherefore he prays judgment whether this Court can [illegible] said." To this plea the plaintiff demurred, and the Circuit Court sustained the demurrer, thereby declaring that the facts stated in the plea, and confessed by the demurrer, did not disqualify Scott for being a citizen of Missouri, and so that the United States Circuit Court had jurisdiction of the cause.

The Circuit Court having taken jurisdiction, the defendant had, of course, to plead over to the merits of the action. He did so, and issues were joined, and there was an elaborate trial of the facts, which resulted in a verdict and judgment in favor of the defendant. And thereupon the plaintiff brought the case up to the Supreme Court by writ of error.

The power of the Supreme Court over the proceedings and judgments of the Circuit Court is appellate only, and this for the sole purpose of enabling the Court above to affirm what has been rightly done, and reverse what has been wrongly done in the Court below. If the error of the Court below consist in the illegal assumption of power to hear and determine the merits of a case not within its jurisdiction, of course the Court above will correct that error, by setting aside whatever may have been done by that usurped authority. And in doing this the court above has no more power than the court below had to hear and determine the merits of the case. And to assume the power to determine a case not within the jurisdiction is as great an error in the court above as in the court below; for it is equally true, in all courts, that the jurisdiction must first be ascertained before proceeding to judgment.

In this particular case the Supreme Court did first examine and consider the plea in abatement, and did adjudge that it was a good plea, sufficient to oust the jurisdiction of the Circuit Court. And hence it follows, as a necessary legal consequence, that whatever was done in the Circuit Court after the plea in abatement, and touching the merits of the case, was simply void, because done *coram non judice*.

Pleas in abatement were never favorites with the courts in England or America. Lord Coke tells us that they must be "certain to a certain intent, in every particular," and in practice they are always dealt with very strictly. When, therefore, the Supreme Court affirmed the plea in abatement, in this case, I assume that it is affirmed, in manner and form, as written, and not otherwise. And this not merely because pleas in abatement are always considered *stricti legis*, but also, and chiefly because the decision tends to abridge the valuable rights of persons natural born in the country, which rights ought not to be impaired, except upon the clearest evidence of fact and law.

Taking the plea, then, strictly as it is written, the persons who are excluded by this judgment from being citizens of Missouri must be negroes, not mulattoes, nor mestizos, nor quadroons. They must be of African descent, not Asiatic, even though they come of the blackest Malays in South-eastern Asia. They must have had ancestors (yet that may be doubtful if born in slavery, of putative parents, who were slaves, and being slaves, incapable of contracting matrimony, and therefore every child must needs be a bastard, and so, by the common law, *nullius filius*, and incapable of ancestors). His ancestors, if he had any, must have been of pure African blood, not mixed with the tawny Moor of Morocco or the dusky Arab of the desert, both of whom had their origin in Asia. They must have been brought to this country, not come voluntarily, and sold, not kept by the importer for his own use, nor given to his friends.

In this argument I raise no question upon the legal validity of the judgment in Scott *agt.* Sandford. I only insist that the judgment in that case is limited in law, as it is, in fact, limited on the face of the record, to the plea in abatement; and consequently, that whatever was said in the long course of the case, as reported (two hundred and forty pages) respecting the legal merits of the case, and respecting any supposed legal disability resulting from the mere fact of color, though entitled to all the respect which is due to the learned and upright sources from which the opinions come, was "*dehors the record*" and of no authority as a judicial decision.

To show that, notwithstanding all that was said upon other subjects, the action of the Court was strictly confined to the plea in abatement, I copy the judgment:

"Upon the whole, therefore, it is the judgment of this Court that it appears by the record before us that the plaintiff in error is not a citizen of Missouri, in the sense in which that word is used in the Constitution, and that the Circuit Court of the United States, for that reason, had no jurisdiction in the case and could give no judgment in it. Its judgment for the defendant must, consequently, be reversed, and a mandate issued, directing the suit to be dismissed for want of jurisdiction."

And now, upon the whole matter, I give it as my [illegible] that the free man of color, mentioned in your [illegible] United States, and, if otherwise qualified, is competent, according to the acts of Congress, to be master of a vessel engaged in the coasting trade.

All of which is respectfully submitted by your obedient servant,

EDWARD BATES, Attorney-General.

THE OLD BROOM AND THE NEW.

BANKS AND BUTLER AT NEW ORLEANS.

BUTLER'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

CITIZENS OF NEW ORLEANS: It may not be inappropriate, as it is not inopportune in occasion, that there should be addressed to you a few words at parting, by one whose name is to be hereafter indissolubly connected with your city.

I shall speak in no bitterness, because I am not conscious of a single personal animosity. Commanding the Army of the Gulf, I found you captured, but not surrendered; conquered, but not orderly; relieved from the presence of an army, but incapable of taking care of yourselves. So far from it, you had called upon a foreign legion to protect you from yourselves. I restored order, punished crime, opened commerce, brought provisions to your starving people, reformed your currency, and gave you quiet protection, such as you had not enjoyed for many years.

While doing this, my soldiers were subjected to obloquy, reproach and insult.

And now, speaking to you, who know the truth, I here declare, that whoever has quietly remained about his business, affording neither aid nor comfort to the enemies of the United States, has never been interfered with by the soldiers of the United States.

The men who had assumed to govern you and to defend your city in arms having fled, some of your women flouted at the presence of those who came to protect them. By a simple order (No. 28), I called every soldier of this army to treat the women of New Orleans as gentlemen should deal with the sex, with such effect that I now call upon the just-minded ladies of New Orleans to say whether they have ever enjoyed so complete protection and calm quiet for themselves and their families, as since the advent of the United States troops.

The enemies of my country, unrepentant and implacable, I have treated with merited severity. I hold that rebellion is treason, and that treason persisted in is *death*, and any punishment short of that due a traitor gives so much clear gain to him from the clemency of the government. Upon this thesis have I administered the authority of the United States, because of which I am not unconscious of complaint. I do not feel that I have erred in too much harshness, for that harshness has ever been exhibited to disloyal enemies to my country and not to loyal friends. To be sure, I might have regaled you with the amenities of British civilization, and yet been within the supposed rules of civilized warfare. You might have been smoked to death in caverns, as were the Covenanters of Scotland by the command of a General of the royal house of England; or roasted like the inhabitants of Algiers during the French campaign; your wives and daughters might have been given over to the ravager as were the unfortunate dames of Spain in the Peninsular war; or you might have been scalped and tomahawked as our mothers were at Wyoming by the savage allies of Great Britain in our own Revolution; your property could have been turned over to indiscriminate "loot," like the palace of the Emperor of China; works of art which adorned your buildings might have been sent away like the paintings of the Vatican; your sons might have been blown from the mouths of cannon like the Sepoys at Delhi; and yet all this would have been within the rules of civilized warfare as practiced by the most polished and the most hypocritical nations of Europe. For such acts the records of the doings of some of the inhabitants of your city toward the friends of the Union, before my coming, were a sufficient provocative and justification.

But I have not so conducted. On the contrary, the [illegible] punishable by every law, has been banishment with labor to a barren island, where I encamped my own soldiers before marching here.

It is true I have levied upon the wealthy rebels and paid out nearly half a million of dollars to feed 40,000 of the starving poor of all nations assembled here, made so by this war.

I saw that this rebellion was a war of the aristocrats against the middling men; of the rich against the poor; a war of the landowner against the laborer; that it was a struggle for the retention of power in the hands of the few against the many; and I found no conclusion to it save in the subjugation of the few and the disenthrallment of the many. I therefore felt no hesitation in taking the substance of the wealthy, who had caused the war, to feed the innocent poor who had suffered by the war. And I shall now leave you with the proud consciousness that I carry with me the blessings of the humble and loyal under the roof of the cottage and in the cabin of the slave, and so am quite content to incur the sneers of the *salon* or the curses of the rich.

I found you trembling at the terrors of servile insurrection. All danger of this I have prevented by so treating the slave that he had no cause to rebel.

I found the dungeon, the chain, and the lash your only means of enforcing obedience in your servants. I leave them peaceful, laborious, controlled by the laws of kindness and justice.

I have demonstrated that the pestilence can be kept from your borders.

I have added a million of dollars to your wealth in the form of new land from the batture of the Mississippi.

I have cleansed and improved your streets, canals, and public squares, and opened new avenues to unoccupied land.

I have given you freedom of elections, greater than you have ever enjoyed.

I have caused justice to be administered so impartially that your own advocates have unanimously complimented the judges of my appointment.

You have seen, therefore, the benefit of the laws and justice of the government against which you have rebelled.

Why, then, will you not all return to your allegiance to that government—not with lip-service, but with the heart?

I conjure you, if you desire ever to see renewed prosperity, giving business to your streets and wharves—if you hope to see your city become again the mart of the Western world, fed by its rivers for more than three thousand miles, draining the commerce of a country greater than the mind of man hath ever conceived—return to your allegiance.

If you desire to leave to your children the inheritance you received of your fathers—a stable constitutional government—if you desire that they should in the future be a portion of the greatest empire the sun ever shone upon—return to your allegiance.

There is but one thing that stands in the way.

There is but one thing that at this hour stands between you and the government, and that is slavery.

The institution cursed of God, which has taken its last refuge here, in His providence will be rooted out as the tares from the wheat, although the wheat be torn up with it.

I have given much thought to this subject.

I came among you, by teachings, by habit of mind, by political position, by social affinity, inclined to sustain your domestic laws, if by possibility they might be with safety to the Union.

Months of experience and of observation have forced the conviction that the existence of slavery is incompatible with the safety either of yourselves or of the Union. As the system has gradually grown to its present huge dimensions, it were best if it could be gradually removed; but it is better, far better, that it should be taken out at once than that it should longer vitiate the social, political and family relations of your country. I am speaking with no philanthropic views as regards the slave, but simply of the effect of slavery on the master. See for yourselves.

Look around you and say whether this saddening, deadening influence has not all but destroyed the very frame work of your society.

I am speaking the farewell words of one who has shown his devotion to his country, at the peril of his life and fortune; who in these words can have neither hope nor interest, save the good of those whom he addresses; and let me here repeat, with all the solemnity of an appeal to Heaven to bear me witness, that such are the views forced upon me by experience.

Come, then, to the unconditional support of the government. Take into your own hands your own institutions; remodel them according to the laws of nations and of God, and thus attain that great prosperity assured to you by geographical position, only a portion of which was heretofore yours.

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER.

GEN. BANKS TO THE PEOPLE OF LOUISIANA.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
New Orleans, Dec. 24, 1862.

TO THE PEOPLE OF LOUISIANA: In order to correct public misapprehension and misrepresentation, for the instruction of the troops of this Department, and the information of all parties in interest, official publication is herewith made of the proclamation by the President of the United States relating to the subject of emancipation. In the examination of this document it will be observed:

I. That it is the declaration of a purpose only—the full execution of which is contingent upon an official designation by the President, to be made on the first day of January next, of the States and parts of States, if any, which are to be affected by its provisions.

II. That the fact that any State is represented in good faith in the Congress of the United States, is conclusive evidence, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, that such State, and the people thereof, are not in rebellion against the United States;

III. That the State of Louisiana has not yet been designated by the President as in rebellion, nor any part thereof, and that it has complied with all the conditions of the proclamation respecting representation;

IV. That pecuniary aid to States not in rebellion, which may hereafter provide for immediate or gradual emancipation; the colonization of persons of African descent elsewhere, and the compensation of all citizens who have remained loyal, "for all losses by acts of the United States, including slaves," are among the chief recommendations of this important paper.

It is manifest that the changes suggested therein, and which may hereafter be established, do not take effect within this State on the 1st of January proximo, nor at any precise period which can now be designated, and I call upon all persons, of whatever estate, condition or degree, soldiers, citizens or aliens, to observe this material and important fact, and to govern themselves accordingly. All unusual public demonstrations, of whatever character, will be for the present suspended. Provost-Marshals, officers and soldiers are enjoined to prevent any disturbance of the public peace. The slaves are advised to remain upon their plantations until their privileges shall have been definitely established. They may rest assured that whatever benefit the government intends will be secured to them, but no man can be allowed, in the present condition of affairs, to take the law into his own hands. If they seek the protection of the government, they should wait its pleasure. Officers invested with command will be vigilant in the discharge of their duties. Leave of absence from camp will not be permitted, except in cases of great emergency. Soldiers enrolled in the regiments of Native Guards will not be allowed for the present to visit the localities of their enlistments, nor will visitors be received unnecessarily in their camps. These regulations, enforced with all troops of the United States in the localities where they are enlisted, are now imperatively necessary. These troops will be confined to the duty specified in General Orders, and will not be charged with special authority in making searches, seizures or arrests. It is my purpose to execute faithfully all the orders of the government, and I assume the responsibility of these instructions as consistent therewith, and require prompt and faithful execution thereof.

Public attention is called to the act of Congress cited in the proclamation, which forbids the return of fugitives by officers of the army. No encouragement will be given to laborers to desert their employers, but no authority exists to compel them to return. It is suggested to planters that some plan be adopted by which an equitable proportion of the proceeds of the crops of the coming year, to be hereafter determined upon the judgment of honorable men justly representing the different interests [illegible] compensation of labor.

The war is not waged by the government for the overthrow of slavery. The President has declared, on the contrary, that it is to restore the "constitutional relations between the United States and each of the States" in which that relation is or may be suspended. The resolutions passed by Congress, before the war, with almost unanimous consent, recognized the rights of the States in this regard. Vermont has recently repealed the statutes supposed to be inconsistent therewith. Massachusetts had done so before. Slavery existed by consent and constitutional guaranty; violence and war will inevitably bring it to an end. It is impossible that any military man, in the event of continued war, should counsel the preservation of slave property in the rebel States. If it is to be preserved, war must cease, and the former constitutional relations be again established.

The first gun at Sumter proclaimed emancipation. The continuance of the contest there commenced will consummate that end, and the history of the age will leave no other permanent trace of the rebellion. Its leaders will have accomplished what other men could not have done. The boldest Abolitionist is a cipher when compared with the leaders of the rebellion. What mystery pervades the works of Providence! We submit to its decrees, but stand confounded at the awful manifestations of its wisdom and power! The great problem of the age, apparently environed with labyrinthic complications, is likely to be suddenly lifted out of human hands. We may control the incidents of the contest, but we cannot circumvent or defeat the end. It will be left us only to assuage the horrors of internecine conflict, and to procrastinate the processes of transition. Local and national interests are therefore alike dependent upon the suppression of the rebellion.

No pecuniary sacrifice can be too great an equivalent for peace, but it should be permanent peace, and embrace all subjects of discontent. It is written on the blue arch above us; the distant voices of the future—the waves that beat our coast—the skeletons that sit at our tables and fill the vacant places of desolate and mourning firesides, all cry out that this war must not be repeated hereafter.

Contest, in public as in social life, strengthens and consolidates brotherly affection. England, France, Austria, Italy—every land fertile enough to make a history, has had its desolating civil wars. It is a baseless nationality that has not tested its strength against domestic enemies. The success of local interests narrows the destiny of a people, and is followed by secession, poverty and degradation. A divided country and perpetual war make possession a delusion and life a calamity. The triumph of national interests widens the scope of human history, and is attended with peace, prosperity and power. It is out of such contests that great nations are born.

What hallowed memories float around us! New Orleans is a shrine as sacred as Bunker Hill! On the Aroostook and the Oregon the names of Washington, Jackson and Taylor are breathed with as deep a reverence as on the James or the Mississippi. Let us fulfil the conditions of this last great trial, and become a nation—a grand nation—with sense enough to govern ourselves and strength enough to stand against the world united!

N. P. BANKS, Major-General Commanding.

GEN. BUTLER IN WASHINGTON.

Correspondence of The Times.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 2.

The arrival of Gen. Butler this evening, accompanied by Col. Shaffer and other members of his staff, caused a very decided sensation, and his rooms at the National Hotel were immediately besieged by numbers of people anxious to see and hear the man who succored Washington, captured Baltimore, and evangelized New Orleans. He was visible to very few, however, as his duty called him early in the evening to wait on President Lincoln at the White House. Gen. Butler seems in excellent health, and is apparently all the better for the severe labors of his late command. He is entirely uninformed of the intentions of the government as regards himself, but says that, on the arrival of Gen. Banks at New Orleans as his successor, he was convinced that he was not wanted there, and he thought he would come to Washington. It is needless to say that he is ready and anxious to serve his country, in whatever way his labors can be made most useful.

The intimations which have reached the public occasionally, in regard to the anti-slavery convictions of Gen. Butler, have done him no injustice. He is satisfied, he says, that in *this* war the whole property of the South is against the government; that it is a revolt of the upper classes against the people; that so long as these upper classes retain their property,

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is all be used to aid the rebellion. It is a war of three hundred thousand property-holders against the Union, [illegible] than this number, for they are not all [illegible] the class whole of their property [illegible] they, of course, are weakened. The [illegible] extinguished as a class. [illegible] "exterminated," but "extin[illegible] change owners, [illegible] they may go to Mexico, or to Cuba, or stay here, as they choose, for they will then be harmless. His expressions are equally strong in affirming the sincere loyalty of the poorer classes. Entertaining these opinions, he confesses to some chagrin on reading Gen. Banks's disclaimer, in his proclamation, of any design against slavery, and had almost feared that in giving frank expression to his own views in his farewell address, he had gone counter to the policy of the rulers from whose councils Gen. Banks had lately come.

Gen. Butler's interview with the President was prolonged till a late hour, and took place in the presence of Secretary Seward and Senator Browning, the former being sent for on the General's arrival.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 10, 1863.

The Proclamation of Emancipation.

By the President of the United States of America. A Proclamation.

Whereas, on the 22d day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward and forever free; and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such States shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days, from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the the United States, the following, to wit: Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Martin, St. Mary, [illegible] city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight Counties designated as West Virginia, and also the Counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, ARE AND HENCEFORWARD SHALL BE FREE! and that the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free, to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that in all cases, when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known, that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And, upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my name and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand [L. S.] eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

By the President:

William H. Seward, Secretary of State.

STATISTICS OF THE PROCLAMATION.

Proportion of Slaves Freed and Left in Bondage.

Slaves absolutely freed in Eight Rebel States.

Alabama	435,080	North Carolina	331,059
Arkansas	111,115	South Carolina	402,406
Florida	61,745	Texas	182,566
Georgia	462,198		
Mississippi	436,631	Total	2,422,800

Slaves freed in parts of States in rebellion.

Louisiana—Thirty-one parishes	245,940
Virginia—Ninety-three counties	451,533
Total	697,473

Slaves in parts of States excepted by the Proclamation.

Louisiana—Thirteen parishes, including New Orleans	85,786
Virginia—Fifty-five counties, including the forty-eight of Western Virginia	39,332
Total	125,118

Slaves in Border States wholly excepted.

Delaware	1,798	Missouri	114,931
Kentucky	225,483	Tennessee	275,719
Maryland	87,189		
Total			705,120

Recapitulation.

1. Slaves absolutely freed in eight rebel States	2,422,800
2. Slaves absolutely freed in parts of two States	697,473
Total number of slaves DECLARED FREE	3,120,273
3. Slaves excepted by the proclamation in parts of Louisiana and Virginia	125,118
4. Slaves excepted in the five Border States	705,120
Total number of slaves *not* freed by the proclamation	830,238
5. Whole number of slaves in the United States, by census of 1860	3,953,587
6. Whole number remaining slaves January 1, 1863	830,238
Number freed	3,123,349

THE HAPPY NEW YEAR.

A Happy New Year, indeed, is that which has just begun its course around the earth! The happiest for this country, and for the world as well, if it do but fulfil the promise of its first day! The Abolitionists of America may well thank God and take courage in view of the Proclamation of the President, and of the state of things from which it proceeded, and of the state of things which it foretells. Not that their work is done, nor that the end is come. But the crown of success that must finally reward their work is fast taking its glorious shape, and if the God be not yet, we surely behold the Beginning thereof. Not instantly, perhaps, nor soon, as our eagerness counts speed, but soon as speech is reckoned [illegible] great dial-plate of the world's history. Not that the Proclamation is all that we could have wished it to have been, or all that we think it might and should have been; but we accept it as more than we had dared to expect or even to hope. If put in force in good faith and with a resolute purpose, it is sufficient for the deliverance of the land; and if not so to be enforced, the best we could have devised, had we had our absolute will in its framing, would have been no more effectual. But we believe in the good faith of the government, all the more, perhaps, from the very reluctance it has shown as to taking this last best step, and we have confidence that it will have the wisdom that is profitable to direct the execution of its policy given to it.

We have believed from the beginning of this Civil War that it would effect the Abolition of Slavery sooner or later. But we had thought it would be later than we could wish, and lo! it may be sooner than we could dare to hope. The progress of events has been so gradual, though certainly not slow, that the mind has grown accustomed to their strangeness and finds it hard to feel in its full extent how marvellous the change has been which they have worked. A little more than two years ago, it seemed as if all the powers, political and moral, in this country, were leagued together for the everlasting establishment of slavery. Democracy was rampant, and Republicanism was timid and slow of perception and in action. Just two years ago, in Boston, on Sunday after Sunday, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, Wendell Phillips had to be escorted by armed men, to save his life from a murderous mob, as he went to and from a religious service in the Music Hall of that city. Less than two years ago, the meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was broken up in Boston by an organized mob, the Mayor of the city refusing, and the Governor of the State not deeming himself authorized to protect it. Everywhere over the Free States anti-slavery meetings were mobbed, evidently by concert and through orders proceeding from some central body. Everywhere, with the honorable exception of this city, where the Metropolitan Police proved the possibility of good government, where riot and misrule had been looked upon as the normal condition of the greatest city in the Union. Had the slaveholders only been content with a very little less than everything, and consented to the choice of a Democratic President selected by the majority of the party, there is scarcely any sacrifice of our civil liberties on which they might not have counted. But the pride that goeth before a fall betrayed them, and God having ordained their destruction, as slaveholders, first made them mad. And their destruction is now sure, and will be speedy, as God counts speed, even with every delay that our crime or folly may interpose in their favor. To be sure, the destruction of slavery was appointed from the beginning, as is that of every institution or device of man resting on the violation of the organic laws of the universe. But its end has been hastened by many years by the blind insanity of its idolaters.

What prophet would have been believed who foretold, at the opening of the war, that in less than two years the President of the United States would declare all the slaves in ten States, with certain exceptions in parts of two, forever free, and to ho[illegible] nation? The lunatic hospital would have been declared by the great mass of the people the only place fit for such a madman. And yet here we have seen this astonishing event come to pass, after a few little months! We regret that the President should have excepted from the operation of his Evangel of Freedom almost all the rebel territory of which we have actual possession, and limited its blessed effect to those portions thereof that are beyond our power, at present. New Orleans and the excepted parishes of Louisiana and a large part of Tennessee are notoriously swarming with rebels, scarcely held in check by the armed hand. It would have been a wise and just beginning of the good work to free all the slaves within the command of our guns, leaving the rare loyalists the benefit of compensation. It would have been a merited punishment to the rebellious slaveholders and an earnest of good faith to the slaves in the regions yet out of our reach. But we thank the President for what he has done, and especially for not having excepted any portion of North Carolina from the sweep of his beneficent declaration.

For the first time since the war begun, the United States are in a logical position. Their conclusions are no longer at war with their premises. The sneers of the enemy who have asked whether God has manifested any special favor towards our arms can now be met, we may hope, with a more satisfactory answer than that we have had to content ourselves with—that there was no reason why he should, as long as we were trying to put down the rebellion and save its cause and original harmless for the rebels. God, himself, cannot help one to build a city, who pulls down with one hand what he builds up with the other. The manual labor which produces food and wealth is the corner-stone on which States rest. We have now laid our hands upon the blood-cemented head of the corner of Southern polity, and if we utterly remove or even permanently displace it, that polity must come down. It must come down, but not as a ruin and a desolation, but as a necessary condition of a reëdification by the line and plummet of eternal justice and everlasting right.

How this plan of the Proclamation will be carried out we cannot precisely predict. If it be inspired with honesty of purpose and committed to honest and able hands, we believe that it will execute itself, just as fast and as far as it has opportunity given it to work in. The heart of the cotton country can be reached by navigable rivers, and as our gunboats pierce into those recesses, the slaves will come flocking to the shadow of the Stars and Stripes, now the emblem unto them of life unto life, instead of death unto death. If the able-bodied negroes be disciplined and armed, as they will be if the President be obeyed, the heart of slavery will be dead within it. The excitement which the news of this deliverance at hand will cause, will spread into the remotest corners of the slave country, and will carry with it a fearful looking-for of calamity at hand. This excitement already permeates that region, and the latest news is that nineteen slaves have been hanged in Charleston, for conveying arms to convenient hiding-places, in coffins, by means of pretended funerals, prophetic of real funerals to the conscience-stricken masters! The servile mind is already unhinged, and will be yet more effectually shifted from its old turning-point by the knowledge of the proclamation and whatever measures will be taken under it. The system of labor on which the rebellion rests will be thoroughly disorganized, only to be restored to activity by a healthful and normal reorganization. That slavery can be abolished, under the proclamation, in all regions approachable by our navy, is now a proved fact. Let it be destroyed in the Gulf States, and it will die a natural death in the Border States, which are merely its breeding-places. Slavery is one of those falsities which exist only as long as it is unquestioned and undisturbed. It has been doomed from the beginning. Its fate has been hastened by the Anti-Slavery Agitation of the last thirty years, which has made it the one object of thought and discussion. It has been condemned to death by the President, compelled by the madness of its worshippers. We trust, and believe, that no respite or reprieve will seek to save it from the doom appointed to it from the beginning of the world.

GLAD TIDINGS OF GREAT JOY.

We have at last, thanks be to God, reached the true beginning of the end. We have doubled the Cape of Good Hope. We have passed the Rubicon. The decisive act has been accomplished which makes it henceforth impossible to [illegible] but we shall increase.

Far as our national relation to slavery is from being the noble, the just, the beneficent one that we could wish—great as are the labors, obstacles, discouragements, that we have yet to encounter—there is matter of legitimate and hearty rejoicing in the great step just taken by the President, and in the new prospect it opens before us.

When Gurth, the born thrall of Cedric the Saxon, was enfranchised by his master, he called out—"A smith and a file, to do away the collar from the neck of a freeman." It will take some time yet to file off our chains. But the decree has gone forth; the power of the oppressor is broken. For whatever number of years vestiges of slavery may remain in our land, from this time forward freedom is the rule and bondage the exception. Freedom must steadily increase till it becomes supreme and universal; bondage must shrink and dwindle until it disappears forever.

By one act of executive authority, three million of slaves are immediately made free men. They are instantaneously transformed from chattels into citizens. They are invited to share the duties and the honors of soldiership. Nay, more. The very ground assigned by the President for their advancement on the political scale to the grade of defenders of their country is the express admission that such advancement is indispensable to the safety of that country. There is a fine poetical justice in this fact, that those millions of people, lately described by the President as mere cumberers of the ground, an objectionable element in our society, persons whose departure would be a public benefit, are now urged, by the same functionary, to help him and his proud Caucasians, against an enemy else invincible. The emancipating Proclamation is issued "as a fit and necessary war measure"—"warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity." If the necessity be indeed so urgent (and we fully believe it) it is fortunate that our defenders are within our own limits, instead of being absent in Central America.

The enemies of freedom are evidently hard pushed for argument, since they continue to urge against the published Proclamation, as they did three months ago against the official notice that it was to be published, two objections mutually destructive of each other. In one breath they say, it is a *brutum fulmen*, an empty threat; in the next they say, it is a fiendish incitement to insurrection, rapine and slaughter. It is idle and useless, because not one slave in a thousand will ever hear of it, say they; and they immediately proceed to declare it fiendish and horrible because, as soon as it is issued, every slave will cut his master's throat. To objections like these we may safely leave the task of neutralizing each other.

To the quieter and more specious statement that the Proclamation can actually benefit only those slaves who are within, or near, our army lines, it may be worth while to say that it will not only spread with immense rapidity over every portion of the South, but that it will exercise everywhere a moral influence mightily efficacious for the freedman, and against the slaveholder.

The best foreign observers in this country have noticed that Americans are powerfully impressed with the sanctity of law, that they shrink from infraction of any statute, even a bad one, and that they will fight better in a minority which includes the constable than in a majority of ten to one against him. The great strength of slavery in this country has arisen from a belief that the law and the Constitution were on its side. This belief has been greatly aided by the fact that legislative, judicial and executive functionaries have generally, in our past history, aided the slaveholder and turned their influence against the slave. [illegible] good citizens, and calling themselves "law-abiding men," have opposed all interference with slavery, because it was "supported by the Constitution, the laws, and the government." The clergy and the Churches fulminated all sorts of denunciations against sin in the abstract; but in the concrete, the case was different; and an organized and established wrong always had their support against any zealots who opposed it in the name of justice. Thus the non-slaveholding whites generally preferred to leave slavery undisturbed while the government supported it; and the slaves, though feeling plainly enough the truth that no government could rightfully authorize the despotic authority of one human being over another, were helpless to resist this tyranny, and could only endure it.

Now, Heaven be praised, things are changed. The government has turned against slavery, as far as the rebel States are concerned. He who supports or favors slavery *there* is no longer "a law-abiding man." He who helps the slave *there*, against the pretended ownership of any master whatever, is in sympathy and cooperation with the President of the United States, and with the army and navy now doing his work in the South. The slave now, for the first time, has the lower as well as the higher law on his side. His arm will be nerved with new vigor now that the President's official act has authorized him to use it "in necessary self-defence"; and, more important still, instead of assuming every white man to be of course his enemy, he can now call for help, in the name of the law, upon any one who chances to witness the assault of that worst of highway robbers who seizes a fellow-man as his property. The Proclamation, wherever it goes, doubles the manhood of every man who has been ranked a slave.

Of course, for the same reason, the Proclamation annihilates as much strength and confidence as the slaveholder formerly derived from the reflection that the Government, with its *prestige* and its power, was on his side. He who now claims a slave, in any part of the region in question, is performing an unlawful act, and can no longer, as before, count upon the help of every bystander to enforce his claim. A single blow has broken, not only the impudent claim of every white man to exercise authority over every negro, but the confidence formerly felt among the privileged class that every white man was ready and willing to act against a negro. The slaveholder, therefore, who attempts a continuance of his old tyranny, may experience the novel sensations, first of being knocked down by his former chattel, and next of being laughed at instead of helped by the white bystanders. In short, by changing the relation of the government towards slavery, the Proclamation has not only given manliness to the slave, bestowing moral vigor in aid of his physical strength, but has taken away one great reliance from the slaveholder, the pretence that law as well as custom supported his claim, and that the power of the United States stood ready to enforce it.

Heretofore, the natural tendency of our system, alike in its legislative, judicial and executive departments, has been to uphold and strengthen the Slave Power. Now, the natural tendency of every week of time, and still more of every week of war, will be to disintegrate and destroy it. Up to this time, our anti-slavery work has been up-hill, a strife against principalities and powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world, and also against the established firmness of an organized system. Now our labors will be helped by the stream of time, by the natural order of events, by the necessary tendencies of the new position of our government. It was plain a long time ago that slavery must perish; but now, good hope appears that the nation will be saved; and that the United States, after the deserved failure of their insane attempt to combine liberty and slavery in one system, will commence, establish and maintain a government truly free, and demonstrate to the peoples of the old world not only the possibility, but the immense and manifold advantage, of self-government; of a government not only *of* the people, but *by* the people and *for* the people.

Of course, very much yet remains to be done. Of course, our duty to the million of human beings still enslaved under the laws of this country, and to the three million who are entering upon the career of freedom under difficulties, will still require all the vigilance, all the energy and all the labor which we have ever exercised. A compulsory breaking of bonds, though its worst possible operation could not half equal the evils of continued slavery, must not be expected to work with that perfect smoothness, or to produce that unalloyed benefit to all the parties concerned which we have always, and justly, claimed as the certain result of voluntary emancipation by the slaveholders themselves. Just so far as the President chooses the lower law instead of the higher, in his future dealings with the black race, just so far as he measures his action in their behalf by the compulsions of necessity rather than by the dictates of sympathy and duty, just so far as his subordinates in the government, the army and navy, do their part in this work sparingly and grudgingly, just so far as the whole nation is disposed to which the fulfilment of its weighty obligations our new enterprise [illegible] diminished, and the benefit of [illegible] delayed. Nevertheless, praise be to God, these possible delays and obstructions, at their worst, cannot equal the evils of continued slavery. The night is past. The day is at hand.

THE PROCLAMATION AMONG THE PEOPLE.

Public Rejoicings.

The President's Edict of Emancipation has diffused a feeling of general joy throughout the loyal North. The leaders of the pro-slavery Democracy are indeed disappointed and sullen—the more so, we believe, from a conviction on their part that a large portion of the rank and file of their own party will not only make no opposition to the measure, but yield a ready assent thereto. They hoped by factious clamor to deter the President from fulfilling his promise of the 22d of September, and having failed in this, they now see clearly that their position is a desperate one, inasmuch as they cannot hope by any means to procure a revocation of the great Edict of Freedom. If the Union armies henceforth meet with reasonable success, the whole North will ere long be united in support of the anti-slavery measures of the Administration, and the Woods, Seymours and Vallandighams be utterly extinguished.

We have not space for any extended account of the manifestations of joy by which, in various cities and towns, the Proclamation was greeted; but we will give in the briefest possible shape such facts and incidents as have come to our knowledge.

NEW YORK.

At the Shiloh (colored) Presbyterian Church in this city, Rev. H. H. Garnet, pastor, a large assembly convened on Wednesday evening, Dec. 31, and spent the time till the advent of the new year in religious exercises and appropriate speaking. The Proclamation had not indeed been issued, but the general expectation that it would come at the promised time was enough to make the people jubilant. Addresses were delivered by Rev. S. S. Jocelyn, Rev. H. H. Garnet, Hon C. C. Leigh, Edward Gilbert, Esq., and others. At 12 o'clock the audience joined in singing the favorite hymn of John Brown,

"Blow ye the trumpet, blow."

In the course of the evening an amusing incident occurred. Mr. Garnet, who presided over the exercises, said: "I have just seen a man enter the room who, in my opinion, has done as much to destroy the ugly monster, slavery, as any other man. I allude to Hon. Horace Greeley." Whereupon the whole audience rose and applauded and cheered and shouted in most vociferous enthusiasm. When it was done, Mr. Garnet said: "Gentlemen and ladies, I am sorry you have had all this clapping for nothing. A gentleman right here before me looked so much like Mr. Greeley that I thought it was him, but when I mentioned Mr. Greeley's name he clapped as hard as the rest, and then I saw my mistake!" A general burst of laughter followed.

On Monday evening last, the "Sons of Freedom," an association of colored people in this city, celebrated the event by a meeting at the Cooper Institute. That immense hall was crowded to suffocation at an early hour, and hundreds, if not thousands, went away from inability to find even standing room. The mass of the assembly were negroes, whose appearance and demeanor might well put to shame their pale-faced traducers. A considerable number of white people, however, were present. Rev. H. H. Garnet presided with great dignity, read the Proclamation, and made an eloquent and appropriate introductory address. A prayer of thanksgiving for the decree of freedom for three million slaves was offered by Rev. J. T. Raymond. Mr. Garnet, after reading the Proclamation, said, "My friends, we must remember that it is God who has brought this thing about. Let us all rise to our feet in honor of our God. (The audience rose.) Now, then, let us give three cheers for the President of the United States. (Given tremendously.) Mr. Garnet—God bless Abraham Lincoln. (Great applause.) Now three cheers for our native land—God bless it. (The cheers were given. Cries of "Good.") Three cheers for our flag, the stars and stripes. (Given.) Three cheers for the Abolitionists who have for thirty years operated on the hearts of the nation. (Given vociferously.) A Voice—"Three cheers for Horace Greeley." The whole assembly responded with great earnestness, the ladies waving their handkerchiefs and the gentlemen their hats. Dr. Cheever, Prof. William J. Wilson, Lewis Tappan, Charles W. Denison, Rev. Richard H. Cain, William Wells Brown and Rev. Mr. Conway delivered addresses. The music, by a colored band and choir, under the direction of Robert Hamilton, was very good. The meeting did not adjourn till midnight, and was followed by a "Soiree" at Mozart Hall, where dancing was protracted far into the "small hours" of the morning.

In Brooklyn, on Friday evening, in the Bridge st. (colored) M. E. Church, there was a large and enthusiastic meeting, which was addressed by Rev. J. H. Gloucester, William Wells Brown, Theodore Tilton and Rev. R. M. Hatfield. The Proclamation had been received and was the text of all the speakers. The house was decorated with appropriate mottoes, and singing added to the interest of the meeting.

In Rochester a large and deeply interesting public meeting was held on Sunday. A friend writes: "G. B. Stebbins and Aaron M. Powell were the speakers announced, but the colored people joyfully shared in the exercises by prayer and the singing of appropriate hymns. The John Brown song seemed to have a new meaning to the audience. It was gratifying to see so large a gathering of the citizens attracted evidently by the magic word of freedom for the enslaved, sounded thus from the Executive of the government. May we be permitted to celebrate Jan. 1, 1864, as the day of *universal* freedom, there being not even one slave left in bondage."

At Buffalo a salute of one hundred guns was fired in honor of the great event.

MASSACHUSETTS.

The following proclamation was issued by Gov. Andrew of Massachusetts:

Headquarters, Boston, Jan. 2, 1863.

General Order No. 1.—With the new year America commences a new era of national life, in which we invoke the blessing of Heaven upon our country and its armies, with renewed faith in the favor of Almighty God.

Our ancestors declared that all men are endowed by their Creator with the inalienable rights of liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that to secure these rights governments, with all their powers, both military and civil, are instituted among men; and for the support of this declaration they pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. We, their children, to-day gratefully welcome an immortal act of civil justice and military necessity, which guarantees these sacred rights to millions in our country from whom they have hitherto been withheld.

In honor, therefore, of the Proclamation of Emancipation by the President of the United States, and as an official recognition of its justice and necessity by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which was the first of the United States to secure equal rights to all its citizens, it is ordered that a salute of 100 guns be fired on Boston Common, at noon to-morrow, Jan. 3.

Major Cook, late of the 8th Battery (six months' service) is charged with the execution of this order.

By command of his Excellency,

John A. Andrew,
Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

On New Year's day there was a large public meeting at the Tremont Temple in Boston. *The Journal* of that city says:

"The Proclamation of Freedom was not received at the meeting until just previous to the adjournment last evening, when it was read by Charles W. Slack. The joyous enthusiasm manifested was beyond description. Cheers were proposed for the President and for the Proclamation, the whole audience rising to their feet and shouting at the tops of their voices, throwing up their hats, and indicating in every conceivable manner symptoms of gratification that the hour of deliverance had at length arrived. When the cheers had somewhat abated the whole audience stood up and joined in singing the jubilee song, 'Blow ye the trumpet, blow,' and then followed a beautiful prayer of thanksgiving by the Rev. Mr. Waterston, which moved many to tears, and was frequently interrupted by shouts of 'Amen!' 'Glory to God in the highest!' 'Hallelujah!' etc. The whole scene was one remarkably striking and affecting. After the meeting at the Temple, a large number wended their way to the Twelfth Baptist Church, where they joined in prayer and congratulations, and partook of a repast which had been there prepared."

In the afternoon of the same day there was a grand Jubilee Concert at the Music Hall, in honor of the Proclamation. It was a brilliant assemblage, called together by Longfellow, Emerson, Quincy, Holmes, Parkman, and others, whose names are household words the world over. The orchestra was under the direction of Carl Zerrahn. Mr. Lang officiated as organist, Mr. Dresel as pianist. The solos were given by Mr. [illegible] The hall was decorated for the occasion— [illegible] flags, shields, &c., of the United States and of the Commonwealth. [illegible] conductor had secured silence, Josiah Quincy, Jr., introduced Ralph Waldo Emerson, who recited a prologue which was received with breathless attention, followed by rapturous applause. (This, we understand, will appear in *The Atlantic Monthly* for February.) The orchestra gave Beethoven's overture to Egmont, followed by the solo and chorus from Mendelssohn—Hymn of Praise—most appropriate words for the occasion, illustrative of the darkness of the past, the dawning of the glorious future. The orchestra gave Beethoven's concerto in E flat, with piano and orchestra, followed by Dr. Holmes's army hymn in solo and chorus. Music by Dresel. Dr. Holmes suited his army hymn to the occasion by adding two stanzas, as follows:

> "No more its flaming emblems wave
> To bar from hope the trembling slave;
> No more its radiant glories shine
> To blast with woe a child of Thine!
>
> "From treason's rent, from murder's stain
> Guard Thou its folds till peace shall reign,
> Till fort and field, till shore and sea
> Join our loud anthem, Praise to Thee!"

The solo was given by Mr. Kreissman, and the chorus by the Philharmonic chorus. Beethoven's fifth Symphony in C Minor, the Angel's Chorus from Elijah, the Hallelujah Chorus from Handel, and the Overture to William Tell, concluded the programme. Between the parts F. H. Underwood informed the audience that information had been received that the Proclamation had been issued by the President, and would be transmitted over the wires to-night. The announcement was received with tumultuous applause by ladies and gentlemen. Nine cheers were given for the President. Josiah Quincy, Jr., read Gen. Saxton's proclamation to the colored people of Hilton Head, which was also applauded.

In Milford the bells were rung and a public meeting for rejoicing was held.

RHODE ISLAND.

In Providence the colored people and their friends celebrated the event by meeting in Pratt's Hall, forenoon, afternoon and evening. In the evening, great enthusiasm was awakened by the announcement that the Emancipation Proclamation, which had been impatiently awaited all day, had really been issued and received.

PENNSYLVANIA.

In Pittsburg, on Friday night, a salute of one hundred guns was fired. No doubt the occasion was appropriately observed in Philadelphia and other places in the State, but no accounts have reached us.

CALIFORNIA.

The Proclamation was published in the evening papers of San Francisco on Saturday, and although it was fully expected, it produced a deep and most profound sensation. One hundred guns were fired.

PERSONAL.

It is stated that M. De Lamartine has just sold his "Memoirs from Beyond the Grave" for about $6,000.

It is rumored in Washington that Secretary Chase will soon lead to the hymeneal altar the accomplished widow of the late Senator Douglas.

The Chicago *Journal* states positively that Gen. Fremont has been assigned to some important command in the West.

David A. Wasson is delivering a series of Sunday discourses at Worcester, Mass., in the church of the Unity.

Mrs. Louise De Mortie, of Boston, will give a dramatic and poetic reading, on Monday evening next, at the Zion Baptist Church in Sullivan street.

President Lincoln has presented to Senator Sumner, for transmission to George Livermore, Esq., of Cambridge, Mass., the pen with which he signed the emancipation proclamation.

"The Black Swan," assisted by three of her pupils, will give a grand matinee on Thursday afternoon, Jan. 8th, and a concert in the evening of the same day, at Union Hall, Williamsburg.

Hon. J. P. Usher, of Indiana, has been nominated by the President to fill the place in his Cabinet made vacant by the resignation of Hon. Caleb Smith. The Senate will of course confirm the nomination.

Wm. Wells Brown will deliver a lecture in the Bethesda Baptist Church, Jersey City, on Sunday evening next, Jan. 11. Subject—"The Injurious Effects of Slavery on the Whites of the South."

James Freeman Clarke has been appointed by the Governor to the office of Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, in place of Hon. George Boutwell, resigned. An excellent appointment.

Rev. J. Sella Martin has resigned the pastoral charge of the Joy Street Church (colored) in Boston, in order to accept a call which he has received from a Church in England.

Rev. Daniel Worth, a Wesleyan minister and an exile from North Carolina, where he labored for some time as an anti-slavery missionary and was imprisoned for his fidelity, died at Newport, Ind., Dec. 15th. He was a noble man.

Fernando Wood, if we may believe *The Leader*, is to be the Democratic candidate for U. S. Senator, to succeed Preston King. Why not? The traits of character which make him the loathing of all honest men make him at the same time the fittest representative of the pro-slavery Democracy.

The Forrest Divorce case, after being before the Courts for ten or twelve years, has come to a termination in a decree of the Court of Appeals confirming the judgment of the Court below, and giving Mrs. Forrest about $10,000 of accumulated alimony, and thenceforth $4,000 a year.

John Bright lately delivered at Birmingham an address upon the American war, in which, as on former occasions, he took strong ground in favor of the North. We observe with regret the statement that he is under orders from his physician to desist from labor, and retire from public life. His health is extremely delicate.

On the last Sunday in December Wendell Phillips filled the pulpit in Music Hall, Boston, taking for his subject the President's plan for colonizing the colored population of this country in some other land—demonstrating its inhumanity, needlessness, and injurious effects upon the interests of the whole country. An immense audience was present. On Sunday last he spoke again in the same place, taking for his subject the President's Proclamation.

In the absence of Rev. J. M. Manning, who was engaged to deliver the closing lecture of the Fraternity Course in Boston, poetical readings from popular authors, by Miss Emily Shaw, were substituted for a lecture, and gave very general satisfaction—Miss S. evincing superior elocutionary talent, but lacking in power of voice for so large a hall.

We learn from *The Times* that two nephews of the distinguished Hungarian, Gov. Kossuth, who have been serving in the Army of Italy for the last two years, have arrived in this city—intending to offer their services in any capacity to the government of the United States in its contest with the rebellion. They are sons of Madame Zulaoski, whose decease a year ago was noticed generally by the press. A son of Madame Ruttkai, another sister of the ex-Governor, has also entered our service. *The Times* learns that the rumors of Gov. Kossuth's ill-health are without foundation. He is in excellent health and spirits.

George Thompson, Esq., is laboring with great zeal and success to enlighten the people of Great Britain in respect to the issues involved in the American war. He has addressed many assemblies of the people in different parts of the country, and being master of the whole question, he never fails to carry conviction to the minds of his hearers. Our country owes him a large debt of gratitude for services rendered to her cause in this trying hour.

Rev. Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, in a private letter to the Editor, says: "Aaron M. Powell gave us an excellent lecture on 'The Pathway of National Salvation,' in our Church last Sunday evening (Dec. 28), and although the streets and roads were very, very muddy, [illegible] a large audience. Next Sunday evening (Jan. 4) we are to have Mr. Conway and his 'National Equinox,' or 'Two Capitals.'"

The Chester County Times has been merged in *The American Republican*, an Administration journal of Democratic antecedents. *The Times*, under the management of Mr. E. W. Capron, has been an able and outspoken champion of freedom, as well as a good local paper. We hope Mr. Capron has not permanently severed himself from the editorial profession, but that his acknowledged abilities may secure him a place in some other good newspaper.

Joseph A. Gilmore, of Concord, has been nominated by the Republicans of New Hampshire as their candidate for Governor. Thirty years ago we knew him as an enterprising and successful merchant in Boston. He has lived in Concord twenty years or more, and has of late been engaged in railroad building and management. He is a man of large business capacity, of indomitable energy and high moral character, and an earnest anti-slavery man. We hope he may be elected.

Victor Hugo is in the habit of receiving a number of children belonging to the poorer classes of society, to whom he administers bodily comforts in the shape of a good dinner, and mental alimentation in the form of useful knowledge. Once a week these destitute children are found in the bosom of his family, himself, his wife and children assisting in teaching them the elements of reading and writing. A life of Victor Hugo, written, it is said, by his wife, is shortly to be published in Paris.

Mr. Mason Jones, who came to this country from England a short time since, an entire stranger to the people of New York, has succeeded in winning a high reputation as a public lecturer upon literary and semi-political topics. As a speaker he is impassioned and eloquent, while his boldness in proclaiming and vindicating the doctrines of universal liberty is well calculated to win the respect and favor of the loyal portion of the people. In this city and Brooklyn, the announcement that he will lecture is sure at any time to fill the largest place for public assembling.

Theodore D. Weld delivered two addresses before the Essex Co. (Mass.) Anti-Slavery Society in Danvers, on Sunday, Dec. 22. The subject of one of them was, "The Hindrances of Truth." A writer in *The Liberator* says: "To say that the address was able would be tame. It was sublime. Every word was a moral mirror that exhibited our frailties in their true light, but no pen but the author's can do it justice." Mr. Weld also spoke twice at Abington on Tuesday, Dec. 23, and once again on Monday. Last Sunday he attended the meeting of the Old Colony Society at Plymouth.

William A. Jackson, ex-coachman of Jeff. Davis, is travelling and speaking in England in company with George Thompson, who, in a letter to *The Liberator*, giving an account of his meetings, says: "At every meeting he delivered an interesting and telling address. On Sunday he was invited to speak at several Sabbath-schools, and addressed, in all, upwards of three thousand children, besides speaking in the evening to the congregation worshipping at the Independent Chapel. He has written a letter to Jefferson Davis, informing him that he (Jackson) cannot be with him on the 25th of December, on which day it will be necessary for the rebel chief to produce him, to discharge a bond for $1,056 which he has given to the owner of his body."

There has been a singular fatality attached to the family of the lamented Chaplain Fuller, of the Sixteenth Massachusetts regiment, who fell at the battle of Fredericksburg. Three of the family have perished by untimely deaths. Eugene Fuller, one of the sons, was drowned on the voyage from New York to New Orleans in 1859, the same year that the mother died. Margaret Fuller, Countess of Ossoli, perished by shipwreck on Fire Island, near New York, in 1850. She was returning from Italy to her native land, from which she had long been absent. Her husband and child were lost with her. And now Arthur B. Fuller has been killed in battle. In every instance the surviving members of the family received the sad tidings by telegraph.

Says the Washington correspondent of the Boston *Traveller*: It is due to Mr. Sumner that the country should appreciate his services in leading the Administration on to occupy its present decided anti-slavery position. He has never been among those who have permitted themselves to assail the President because he did not fully satisfy their desires as anti-slavery men, but he has clung to him and supported him, doubtless at times when he was dissatisfied with his course, and with the general course of the Administration. The result has been that he has had a strong influence over Mr. Lincoln, and by putting the right word in his ear at the right time, he has deepened and strengthened the anti-slavery convictions of the President. It is but fair that the people of Massachusetts, at least, should know that Mr. Sumner has been one of the "powers behind the throne" in this all-important anti-slavery controversy. He has had his full share of influence in shaping the final result.

Henry Ward Beecher was threatened with a mob at Elizabeth, N. J., last Monday evening. Some Democrats in the town boasted that they would meet him at the railroad station, give him something worse than a Scotch welcome, and prevent the delivery of his lecture. The Mayor was unwilling to promise protection to the speaker or the building, until a number of the most respectable citizens voluntarily offered to enrol themselves as special police, to maintain the credit of the town and to vindicate the right of free speech. The lecture was delivered without interruption, except from the hearty applause of a sympathetic audience. At its conclusion, the lecturer was followed to the railroad station by almost a thousand persons, most of them friendly, though the throng was not lacking in cacophonous vagabonds who filled the air with a jargon of noises. After Mr. Beecher stepped on board the cars, he turned to the multitude, and, making a good-natured speech, turned them suddenly into such a merry humor that they gave him three cheers.

Thurlow Weed, in a letter from Washington to the Albany *Evening Journal*, speaking of the late troubles in the Cabinet, says:

"There is one perplexing phase of the question. I refer to the assumption that the Secretary of State *has not been in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war.* This is such a reversal of truth that I cannot see how Senators could be so ill-informed as to make the error their basis of complaint. The President and every member of the Cabinet know how utterly unfounded and unjust this accusation is. They know that upon all war questions the Secretary of State was prompt and earnest, going always for the largest army, the largest navy, and the most 'vigorous prosecution of the war.' In this respect, therefore, the Senators failed to maintain their accusation. . . . In whatever else Gov. Seward may have erred, or fallen behind, or exceeded his colleagues, I *know* that upon every war question he has been fully up to the highest mark. And saying this I will add that in regard to the best way of prosecuting the war, I have differed from the beginning with the President, the Secretary of State, and with other members of the Cabinet."

The Massachusetts Legislature will assemble on Wednesday of this week, and will, probably, before many days, reëlect Charles Sumner to the U. S. Senate. We understand that lately, when Mr. Seward resigned, the suggestion was made in "Conservative" quarters that Mr. Sumner should be called to the State Department. This circumstance led to a spiteful attack upon him in a Boston paper, in response to which the Washington *Republican* says:

"A Boston newspaper, an organ of the clique in that city, which is held together by the cohesive power of hatred to better men than themselves, and which is specially embittered by its recent overthrow before the people of Massachusetts upon the direct and distinct issue of the reëlection of Mr. Sumner as a Senator of the United States, vents its own spite and the spite of the defeated politicians whom it represents, by the sneering remark, that the suggestion of that distinguished gentleman as the successor of Gov. Seward in the Cabinet, '*failed to draw out a favoring response anywhere.*'

"It is quite certain that this suggestion of Mr. Sumner's name in connection with the premiership, did not come from his personal friends, who would unanimously oppose his leaving the Senate, where his presence and services are invaluable at this crisis. The suggestion did not come at all from personal friends, but from the universal recognition of his fitness to direct the diplomatic affairs of the country, a fitness indicated not only by his general abilities and culture, but by his special familiarity with the currents of opinion in Europe, derived from travel and correspondence. The same circumstances which caused him to be placed at the head of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, directed attention to him from all quarters, when it was supposed that the office of Secretary of State would be vacated. The suggestion of his name was, in truth, the general recognition of the eminent suitability of his appointment. It was not the case of the public responding favorably or unfavorably to the suggestion of personal friends, but it was the public itself speaking authoritatively for itself. If there was any voice of dissent, it was only heard from a little, narrow, soured and perverse set of politicians, whose influence is confined to the city limits of Boston."

Our Washington Correspondence.

Washington, January 4, 1863.

In the midst of the great events of this new week of a new year, a little band of so-called Christian ministers in the Capital of the nation have agreed to come together, with their congregations, every night for a week, to pray on given subjects, the first grand prayer meeting occurring to-night. One would suppose that such men, so-called earnest, evangelical clergymen, at such a wonderful time in our history, living in the Capital, would not overlook the greatest event of our age; but I look in vain in the programme of prayers for any allusion to slavery or emancipation. On the first night the subject to be prayed about is that of sin—sin in the abstract, of course—not the sin of slaveholding, or even of rebellion, but the sin of—not being a Christian, or to obviate all necessity of alluding to particular sins—the sin of being a sinner. On the second night, our country and its rulers can be prayed for; on the third night, "increased spirituality"; fourth night, "missionaries"; fifth night, "schools, colleges," etc., etc; sixth night, "violations of the Lord's day"; seventh night, "thanksgivings for all mercies, with prayer." As I have said, there is not a single night when the sin of slavery is to be prayed forgiveness for—not a night in which God can be thanked for emancipation. I look over the names of the clergymen who issue the call for these Union prayer meetings, and I see the names of Gurley, Syle and Sampson, three of the most prominent clergymen here. Gurley is not an open loyalist, has never offended the Washington secessionists, and is an anti-emancipationist. Syle is the great gun of the rebels in this city. He is an Episcopalian, and refused some time ago, when ordered to do so by his Bishop, to read a prayer of thanksgiving because of Union victories. Sampson is a sort of Presbyterian secessionist, or secession sympathizer. What men are these to be praying for *anything* at such a time as this? This is one picture—now let me show you another.

While the white clergymen of Washington are praying over "the exceeding sinfulness of sin" (I should except such noble men as Channing, Stockton, and perhaps I may also write the name of Sunderland), the colored preachers and the colored people of this District are upon their knees thanking God for the Proclamation, and asking him, with heartfelt earnestness, to give the victory to that side which, if it succeeds, will decree justice and freedom to a nation. When Dr. Nichols read the Proclamation of Emancipation at "Camp Contraband," in this city, nobody there had any doubt about the efficiency of the document. The contrabands sung and prayed and shouted for joy. *The Star* (pro-slavery) in giving an account of this meeting, says:

"George Payne, a tall, good-looking contraband, from Loudon County, Va., said that his wife and children were living away from his master's place, and he described the cruelty practiced towards her. Many a time had she been compelled to drop her child in his arms, while he sat in sorrow and tears, and run to attend the child of her mistress. He would say that his master was kind, giving him the use of a horse every Saturday to ride fifteen miles to see his wife, but when he reached them it was enough to melt the heart to see them; the children naked and almost without food. Many and many nights he had sat up till twelve o'clock making the basket and broom, in order to get money to keep his family from suffering. He had heard that his wife and children had been sold by the master, and if he ever met him again he would kill him or get them. He grieved to think of his children. His heart had thumped when the Proclamation was being read, wondering if Loudon was included. Thanks be to God, Loudon is free! *Bless that man they call Mr. Lincoln for such a glorious proclamation.*"

And again:

"Wm. Beverly (contraband) rose on his feet and raised a hymn (the usual preface to a speech amongst these people) and then proceeded to say that they were 'sembled there in a good purpose. It was good to have free life for this world as well as after death. Let every one consider the words of the chief President about freedom. It was God, the President and the Union that had deliberated them. Nothing could be done without God. When de war broke out I 'member well how old massa talked. He used to ask us about Mr. Linkin, and say before he got to Washington they (the rebels) would destroy the city. All the time when the fighting was going on, I pray for the success of the Union arms. They used to tell that the rebels had the victory, and that Yankees had only done us harm, but I wish and hope. I trusted in de Lord, and believed that de Union army would prevail. God was with his suffering people, for they were suffering, hardly having enough to eat. Had kind of 'ceitful overseer, who come to us and asked us if we wanted to be free, and if we say yes, he go to massa and massa whip us. He say, 'Billy, if de Union people come dey take all de meat out of the meathouse.' 'Bliged to tell him story. 'Bliged to tell him didn't want to be free, and would fight the Union soljers if dey cum. God Almighty knew how 'twas with me. God Almighty knew I had to tell story or get whipped. When young massa in de rebel army cum home he speak to me and say that the rebels was drove away, and I say I glad to see him, but all the time I druther seen him dead than alive, and said to myself 'thank God for so much.' Thank God our sufferins all dun away. Handcuffs, beatins all dun away! Never part from children again and don't kno if ever meet again.'"

And once more:

"Denry Smith was then called on, and being a little backward, at the suggestion of 'John de Baptis'' a hymn was sung to raise his spirits, after which, Denry said: 'When a slave' wo's afraid to speak Mr. Linkin's name. Get whipped. Two of my children was sent South. But I had faith in God and the Union army. Sorrow down to the bottom of my heart when Union soljers defeated; but had faith in the Lord. Knew if he had sent the Union army, he would cause 'em to triumph. When the army come across at Fredericksburg had my family, with seven children and ox-team, to come over. Couldn't get across; lost my steers, but trusted in de Lord. Nailed some planks togedder, made a raft, put a tub on the raft, put three of my little children in; called out to Union sentry not to shoot, and fetch them children cross to their mudder. Went back five times, and fetch my family all over, thank the Lord. When the secesh ask me which army I like the best, I say "the army that treats me best." Made up mind live or die, to cum over. Had to leave every thing I had behind, but knew that the great I Am who gave me all, would give me more.'"

That man is a dolt, who, after reading these extracts, doubts whether the slaves of the South understand the meaning of the Proclamation, and whether they care anything about it. But it was the prayers offered at this meeting which went to the hearts of all white persons present—the prayers of thanksgiving for the Proclamation. God, and the President, got all the thanks, and they were about equally distributed between them. If Mr. Lincoln could have heard some of these prayers, he would have got a new idea of the power of gratitude in the heart of an emancipated slave.

I feel certain, from what I have seen within a week, of two or three things: One is, that the slaves thoroughly understand, the most of them at least, what the Emancipation Proclamation means. Another ascertained fact is, that the slaves mean to win their freedom in this war, no matter how it results so far as this government and that of the rebels are concerned. *They* mean to demand their freedom, even if President Lincoln fails in his attempt to maintain it. And finally, the Proclamation has already set slaves free, as it will hereafter free millions.

The Intelligencer of this city comes out in a three column editorial against the Proclamation. It argues that Mr. Lincoln cannot alter the fact that under State laws slavery exists in certain States, that although he may free the persons now held to service by State laws, it is merely a matter of force, and the moment he withdraws his army, that moment the slave returns to his former condition. In other words, it holds that no commander can abolish a State institution, though he may maintain the freedom of certain persons held as slaves, formerly. To all this kind of argument the Abolitionist has a ready answer: "I care nothing for your legal arguments. Let Mr. Lincoln win military successes and crush the rebellion, setting the actual slaves free, and I defy any power on earth to resurrect slavery again. It will die and go forever out of sight—if the armies of this government can only win battles. There is the rub. Of course Mr. Lincoln cannot overthrow slavery if he can't beat the enemy in the field, because slavery, like everything else, [illegible] by arms.

There is not a little anxiety among the leading minds of the Republican party here in reference to the political situation. Dangers loom up in the distance. The villainous Democrats are growing bold. What if we should *lose* instead of gaining battles—would not these men who deal in lies and infamy generally grow still bolder? Look at *The World* and *Herald!* They are ready to egg on the mob to a second revolution—the pro-slavery revolution of the North. I am encouraged, however, by the remark of a leading clergyman here. Said he, "If these unprincipled Democratic leaders will only dare to carry into practice what is in their hearts, we shall be saved, for they have cheated a part of the people, and will utterly fail when they attempt anything rash. The honest masses will crush them in a day, *when they show their hand!*" He is right, I hope. But the government must save itself by success in the field. That is the only sure way to do it. Give us some victories, Mr. Lincoln, if you can.

The news from Tennessee to-day is very conflicting, and there is much anxiety in reference to the result of the series of battles. The loss of the Monitor produces a profound feeling of sorrow, for it was expected that the iron-clads would soon reduce Wilmington and Charleston. Perhaps the loss of one of this class of vessels will not postpone the attacks that were speedily to have been made upon some of the rebel seaports.

Dr Channing delivered a most admirable emancipation sermon this morning in the Senate Chamber, to a crowded audience. Avon.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

Philadelphia, Jan. 5th, 1863.

The Edict of Freedom, so long expected and so impatiently waited for, has at last come, and joy fills the hearts of the people. It is a great document, honorable to its author, creditable to the government, and pregnant with blessings to oppressed humanity, the world over. Its enemies—the enemies of our cause—call it "senseless thunder"; they know better, else why do they rave at it? The "Satanic" *Herald* repeats its favorite comparison, calling the document a "Pope's bull against the comet"; but in the very same article the writer proves that this is mere affectation, for he deliberately declares: "We consider this *pronunciamento* unnecessary, unwise, ill-timed, impracticable, outside of the Constitution, and full of mischief." *The Herald* knows, and everybody not blinded by prejudice knows, that this is the deadliest blow that has been aimed at the rebellion since the war began.

What if, in its immediate action, it do not free a single slave? What if, for months to come, we should see no beneficial results from its adoption? On the 4th of July, 1776, our fathers adopted the Declaration of Independence, and congratulated themselves on having become a nation. It was a day of bell-ringing and mutual felicitations. But the visible condition of things—the *situation*, as the phrase now is—underwent no immediate change; at least not for the better. On the 5th of July things stood just as they did on the 4th, except that timid friends were shaking in their shoes and tory enemies were prophesying evil. "You are only adding to your miseries," said the latter. "When the news of your audacity reaches England, your opponents there will be incensed to the highest pitch, and will renew their warlike preparations with increased vigor." And this prophecy was fulfilled to the letter. When the report of what was done in Philadelphia had been conveyed to London, the anger of the government was kindled to a consuming heat, new energy was imparted to the war, and for awhile it seemed as though the new-born nation was to be crushed in the very hour of its birth. The Declaration of Independence was followed by defeat after defeat. First, on Long Island; then in the capture of New York; then by the retreat with bloody tracks through the snows of New Jersey and across the Delaware; and soon after by the capture of Philadelphia, the defeat on the Brandywine, and the unfortunate battle of Germantown.

There was proof, strong as Holy Writ, to some, that the attempt to establish a free National government, on the basis of freedom and universal equality, was a failure, if not a crime. "God is against us," said the superstitious. "Let us make peace on the best terms we can," said the sordid and faint-hearted.

But our fathers were fighting for a principle. They were contending for Liberty; not merely for their own independence, but for the great doctrines of Freedom laid down in their immortal programme. Failure in such a contest was impossible. Truth and Justice, the moral sentiment of mankind, and the attributes of God himself were committed to their support. So Hancock and Adams, Franklin, Jefferson, and the rest, patiently waited and persistently struggled, confident of the result which was at last so gloriously attained.

But I shall be told that the rebels comfort themselves and support their cause by similar reflections. They affect to regard their case as analogous to that of the Colonies in the Revolution. The analogy is only verbal, and is deceptive; the two cases are without any substantial resemblance. England fought us to maintain and perpetuate her rule over us. The South is doing the same thing for the same purpose, with the additional intent of more firmly establishing and more widely extending slavery. The Colonies, unwilling to bear longer the political yoke, rose to establish and perpetuate the institutions of freedom; the rebellious States of the South, *unwilling to resign the long swayed sceptre*, have conspired to destroy the fabric our fathers reared, and to establish in its stead the eternal reign of slavery. The analogies of the case are entirely against the rebel slaveholders.

Let no one imagine that the conspirators want disunion in order that the two sections may be permanently disunited. They want disunion as a necessary step to a surer reconstruction. Ask Fernando Wood, ask Wm. B. Reed what they are looking forward to in case the South should succeed in establishing its independence, and they will tell you, Such a reconstruction as will insure a homogeneous union with the continuance of slavery. In other words, a union including the border free States, New York and the Great West, and excluding New England. They want disunion as a change of base from which to form new alliances for the safety of their system, just as the Abolitionists used to demand "dissolution," not for the disintegration of the country, but as a necessary step to the universal spread of liberty.

A philosophical historian, writing of our country, has said: "The American revolution was complete in 1776, but it still remained to defend it by arms." The future annalist will have to say the same of this second revolution, substituting the year 1863 for that of 1776. What the Declaration of Independence was to the birth of the nation, the President's edict will be to its regeneration. It took five years of bloody war to establish and carry into effect the former; what will be required to make good the latter remains to be seen. But let no one fear that the Proclamation will not be carried into full effect. Revolutions do not go backward. The chicken cannot be returned to the shell. Progressive changes, when crystallized into a law, cannot be reversed. A feeble colony like St. Domingo could hold a race as slaves, but when declared free by law, no power of their masters could retain these slaves, nor could all the available force of the empire afterwards reinstate them in bondage.

The President's Proclamation is not all that the friends of the cause hoped it would be, but such as it is it will give the *coup de grace* to slavery throughout the country. Taken in connection with what has preceded it, it withdraws from the institution the support of the government. It knocks the the underpinnings from the system. The superstructure must come down. It may stick for a while, held up by lateral attachments and time formed adhesions, but its descent by the law of moral gravitation is certain. Let its friends and apologists stand from under. How much ruin, how much destruction of life and property may be involved in its downfall, the future only can disclose.

It is to be regretted that the President did not make a clean sweep while he was about it, and at once wipe the whole system out of existence; but since he has sought to attain this end by a different course, let us not waste our time in useless repinings. That he should have made the loyal Border States exceptions to the action of his edict, does not disappoint any one, but that Tennessee and certain small sections of rebeldom, not half redeemed to loyalty, should be included in these exceptions, is a matter which causes dissatisfaction. But let us remember that while Tennessee and these other sections are made exceptions to the edict, they are not excepted from [illegible] Congress, one of which frees the slaves of all rebel masters wherever found. This act, duly enforced, will give liberty to a majority of the slaves in the Border States, including especially the State of Tennessee, in which there is perhaps a larger number of rebel slaveholders than in any other.

It is to be regretted that the ungracious phrase, "military necessity," had to have such a conspicuous place in the Proclamation; but it must be remembered that this was a *legal* necessity. It was demanded as a justification of the President's act. Except on this ground, the President had no more legal right to use his official power for the liberation of the slaves, than the president of a bank would have to use the money in his vaults to feed the starving poor. He was estopped by his oath of office, and nothing could justify him but the necessity, real or fancied, of preserving the integrity of the nation.

But everybody knows, or will know in due time, that while "military necessity" was the legal pretext, Justice and Humanity were the actual cause of this sublime and beneficent act. The President issued the edict at the demand of the people, and the people demanded it from their sense of humanity and justice. This they may not have formally and in all cases admitted to themselves, but that they were impelled to it by their conscience and sense of right, will not be doubted by any one who will be at the pains duly to inquire into the matter. The President has put forth the true facts of the case in the fine sentence with which he closes his Proclamation: "And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God." The two phrases, "act of justice" and "military necessity," in the order in which they stand, tell the whole story. The one shows the motive before God, the other the justification in the eyes of men.

The style of the document, though too technical for elegance, is pure and not unbefitting the importance of the subject. Legal men say that it bears evidence on its face of having been drawn with the greatest care.

Heaven's best blessings on Abraham Lincoln! May he have grace to endure to the end—"rising with the occasion," as new exigencies make their demands upon him. M.

OBITUARY.

Died, in North Pitcher, Chenango Co., N. Y., on Sunday, Dec. 28, of consumption, Miss G. Francelia Ufford, only daughter of Mr. Elliot and Mrs. Sabina Ufford, aged 27 years.

Thus has passed away another of the slave's best friends, and one of the most appreciative and interested readers of The Standard. It seems most fitting, then, that a few words should be here said, commemorative of her worth. She was a superior person—a thinker, a reader, and progressive in all her intellectual and moral tendencies. Prominent in her choice library were the writings of such men as Channing, Emerson, Furness, Garrison and Parker, and of such women as Lydia Maria Child and Harriet Beecher Stowe. *The Atlantic Monthly* was also her familiar companion. Thus she had, of course, outgrown and thrown off some of the more popular religious opinions, and was deemed by many heretical. Still, she was animated by a living, though rational faith—faith in God and the Immortal Life—and that supported her to the end, destroying all fear and dread of death, and enabling her to anticipate her change with a cheerful hope. She wished, she said, to become a fit companion for the angels; and her endeavors were manifestly in harmony with her wish. Her religion was the love of God and man; and she ever aspired to the True, the Beautiful, and the Good. Practical humanity was more to her than any creed, and she believed only in "The Broad Church," which includes all pure, aspiring, and faithful souls. Hence what we call death must have been to her only a forward step in life—the life eternal—and congenial spirits must have welcomed her to their higher sphere and sublimer pursuits.

A few months before, a beloved brother, aged about twenty years, and a friend and cousin, from the same neighborhood—Miss Della Smith, aged 17 years, a most excellent and promising young person, and one in spirit and aim with Miss Ufford, especially in the anti-slavery cause—also passed away by the same insidious and fatal disease. But it is pleasant to think—particularly to friends—that these three, for so short a time separated, are united again, and going forward together, we may hope, in the progressive destiny which they so well commenced here! Parents, with brothers and sisters, are sad and sorrowful under the seemingly premature bereavement; but they also have faith and hope and so can "rejoice even in their tribulation," knowing that death must be gain to the excellent ones who have gone so early from them. May the light of heaven be ever theirs to guide and cheer them!

"O glorious hope! that through the gloom
Can thus, with eye of faith,
In joyfulness and peace discern
That far-off land for which we yearn,
And 'mid the shades that darkly loom
From out the portals of the tomb,
Can triumph over death!

"Blest one, to whose inspiring sight
Such visions fair were given;
When painlessly, in dreamless sleep,
Thine eyes were closed, we could not weep,
But softly said, 'An angel bright
Hath joined the throng enrobed in white;
We know the bliss of heaven.'"

W. H. F.

Theodore Parkman, the Color Sergeant of the 45th Massachusetts, who was instantly killed at Whitehall, N. C., though belonging by all the affinities of blood and principle to Massachusetts, was not personally known in this community beyond the circle of relatives and immediate friends. How much he was beloved, how sadly and long he will be missed and mourned within that circle, this is not the place to say. The hearts that sympathize the most with bereaved kindred must keep their sorrows sacred from what would be intrusive and distressing publicity.

But we may, even whilst we grieve, proudly tell the simple story of a modest and noble young man, whose early death has come as the result of his intelligent and conscientious convictions of duty.

The oldest child and only son of the Rev. John Parkman, he was born in Paris, and at the time he fell was in the prime of early manhood. He was educated at Columbia College, New York, and a few years since went to Germany, accompanied by his father's family, to finish his studies as a practical chemist. He returned to Boston in the Autumn of 1861.

Educated by precept and example to believe in the right of all men to be free, and in devoted attachment to republican institutions, he soon felt the imperative obligation to give himself to the service of his country; though his whole nature and all his tastes were averse to the glories and horrors of war.

He endeavored to fit himself for efficiency as a soldier, and when the nine months' men were called for he enlisted in the 45th. How calmly and steadily he bore the flag in his strong arm, as the regiment marched down State street, many to whom he was a stranger may have noticed. There was an unostentatious determination in his bearing, and a smiling good-bye for the friends who recognized him. In the spirit with which he took his departure he bravely served and nobly fell.

This is all that need be said. Since the conflict began, the land has lost those far more distinguished and far more widely known than Theodore Parkman. Except as his death gives him one, he has no public record. But no purer, more affectionate or more loyal soul than his has taken its flight amidst the tempest of the battle, to the better world of perfect peace.—*Boston Transcript.*

Gen. Butler's Farewell Address to the people of New Orleans (see first page) is one of the most striking documents in the history of the war. He has come to the conviction, it will be seen, that the utter destruction of slavery is indispensable for the salvation of the country. His stinging allusions to foreign governments, if not entirely justifiable, may well be excused in view of the provocations to which he has been subjected.

THE TWENTY-NINTH
NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

In view of the colossal magnitude of the Southern rebellion, on the one hand, and of the corresponding efforts for its suppression by the American government, on the other, the Managers of the National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary have deemed it expedient to defer their ANNUAL APPEAL to this late period—not knowing what events might occur, in the meantime, to render a modification or suspension of their established plan of action desirable, and wishing to be guided by the highest wisdom in such a momentous crisis.

Reverently recognizing in this awful visitation the [illegible] national transgression, and trusting it may mercifully end in the total extinction of chattel slavery throughout the land; believing that the Proclamation of President Lincoln, emancipating forever all slaves held in States found in rebellion on the first day of January, 1863, will, if energetically and uncompromisingly enforced, inflict a staggering blow upon that fearfully oppressive system; they, nevertheless, feel that the uncertainties of civil war are too great, and the expedients of governmental and political organizations too unreliable, to justify, for one moment, any abatement of vigilance, activity, zeal, liberality, and determination on the part of those who have so long and so disinterestedly consecrated themselves to the godlike work of immediate and universal emancipation, joyfully "bearing the cross and despising the shame." With no personal or sectional feelings to indulge, no selfish ends to promote, no party or sectarian objects to attain—animated by the deepest religious sentiment and the purest patriotism—it is not for such to commit their sacred cause to other hands, to be lulled into inaction even by the most cheering signs of the times, to regard their special mission as accomplished, or to abandon their organized efforts and efficient instrumentalities which have hitherto been crowned with such animating results. Their work is, by Divine help, the extermination of slavery, root and branch; and so long as one slave remains in his fetters, and they are able to plead his cause, that work will not have been accomplished. They must continue to be "the forlorn hope" to the end, leading the way, and taking upon themselves the brunt of the conflict, until the victory be won, the captives set free, and liberty the birthright and possession of every inhabitant of our land, from sea to sea.

Granted, that the Anti-Slavery cause has grown from infantile weakness to manly strength—from universal proscription to respectful public consideration—from an apostolic number of adherents to a multitudinous host. Granted, that it is slavery which is the sole cause of the Rebellion, and that the suppression of the one may necessitate the forcible overthrow of the other. Granted, that the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln, if it can be enforced, will include nearly three fourths of the entire slave population. Granted, that the rebels themselves, despairing of achieving their independence in any other way, may proclaim freedom to their bondmen, and thus secure their loyal coöperation. Still, we have to deal with stern realities, and must not allow ourselves to be deluded by mere possibilities which may never be fulfilled. Still, it must be remembered that no blow will be struck at the slave system, as such, by the Proclamation; for slavery will continue to be recognized and protected, under the old constitutional guaranties, in all the so-called loyal slave States, and possibly reinstated in every rebel State, under the shield of State sovereignty, after its subjugation and the withdrawal of the Federal armies. Still, it is manifest that a powerful pro-slavery sentiment exists throughout the North, deadly hostile to every scheme of emancipation, defiantly claiming a strong reaction of public sentiment on its side, intent on persecuting and ostracising all who are obtaining their freedom by flight and the chances of war, and leaving nothing undone to get the control of the government, so as to make the most humiliating concessions to the South, and reconstruct the Union on a permanent slaveholding basis.

Under these perilous circumstances, therefore, there must be no indulgence given to the pleasing illusions of fancy, or to an undue exaltation of mind. The struggle for the abolition of slavery may yet be protracted for years; and, unquestionably, it will be fiercely contested to the end by all that is hostile to impartial liberty, North as well as South. We must gird up our loins anew, make a fresh consecration of our means and powers, labor with increasing devotedness, and ask for a discharge from this warfare only with the termination of our mortal life, or the liberation of all in bondage.

The Managers of the National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary give notice, therefore, that it will be held, as usual, in Boston, the last week in January, 1863; and to that annual gathering they cordially and urgently invite all who abhor treason, love liberty, desire peace and reconciliation on an enduring basis, and seek the unity, happiness and prosperity of our now distracted, fearfully guilty, but we trust to be regenerated country—bringing with them (or sending, if they are not able to give their personal attendance) as generous contributions and donations as their means will allow, causing "the riches of their liberality to abound" even in "the abundance of their poverty"—assured that the proceeds thus obtained will be sacredly used, under the auspices of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as hitherto, to disseminate light and knowledge on the subject of slavery by voice and pen, through the press, and by the lecturing agent—to quicken the religious sentiment, inform the understanding, stimulate the conscience, soften the heart, and so effect that mighty moral change in public opinion which is essential to the banishment of all complexional hatred and oppression, and, consequently, to the reign of universal justice and good will. It should be remembered that the pecuniary resource of the Society is largely dependent upon this instrumentality; and as its treasury is now empty, it is vitally important for its continued operations that prompt and liberal aid should be rendered in the manner already indicated.

To those everywhere who have so long and so generously aided us, we present our annual appeal, trusting it may be so ordered by the God of the oppressed that no renewal of it will be needed, by reason of the speedy and complete consummation of our labors and aspirations.

L. Maria Child,
Mary May,
Louisa Loring,
Henrietta Sargent,
Sarah Russell May,
Helen Eliza Garrison,
Anna Shaw Greene,
Sarah Blake Shaw,
Caroline C. Thayer,
Abby Kelley Foster,
Lydia D. Parker,
Mattie Griffith,
Mary Jackson,
Evelina A. Smith,
Caroline M. Severance,
Elizabeth Gay,
Mary Willey,
Ann Rebecca Bramhall,
Sarah P. Remond,
Mary E. Stearns,
Sarah J. Nowell,
Elizabeth Von Arnim,
Abby H. Stephenson,
Eliza Apthorp,
Sarah Cowing,
Sarah H. Southwick,
Mary Elizabeth Sargent,
Sarah C. Atkinson,
Abby Francis,
Mary Jane Parkman,
Georgina Otis,
Katherine Earle Farnum.

Missouri.—In the Missouri House of Representatives on Monday, the following resolution was referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

Resolved by the House, the Senate concurring, that the proclamation issued by President Lincoln on the 22d of September, and the supplementary proclamation on the 1st of January, will inaugurate the most important epoch in American history; and meeting our full endorsement, we earnestly and respectfully urge its rapid enforcement, and will use our best endeavors to sustain it.

On Tuesday, John B. Henderson was elected United States Senator for the term ending on the 4th of March; but the joint convention failed to elect anybody for the full term, the first ballot resulting as follows: B. Gratz Brown, 51; John S. Phelps, 51; S. L. Glover, 31; S. M. Breckinridge, 11; Noell, 5.

Barnum's Museum is possessed of a new attraction in the person of the Lilliputian beauty, Miss Lavinia Warren, of whom we lately gave an account. She had completed all her arrangements for a voyage to Europe and for presentation to Royalty, but Mr. Barnum made her such liberal offers that she has consented to remain, for the present at least, on this side of the Atlantic. She will be exhibited in company with the renowned Commodore Nutt. She is but 32 inches in height, 21 years old, perfect in form and features, and very bright and intelligent. Such a pair, we venture to say, was never before exhibited.

Two Great Events—the mightiest of the century in their relations to the cause of Universal Liberty as connected with American history—will be found recorded in our columns this week. We allude, of course, in the first place, to the Edict of the President declaring the freedom of 3,000,000 slaves, and secondly, to the opinion of the U. S. Attorney-General, the legal adviser of the Executive, that persons of African descent, born in the country, are citizens of the United States. It is scarcely possible for the imagination to conceive of the far-reaching consequences of events like these, which will forever stand as monuments in the path of human progress.

Deputation to Washington.—Dr. Cheever, Rev. William Goodell and Rev. Nathan Brown had an interview with the President on the last day of 1862, as the representatives of [illegible] others lately held in the Church of the Puritans, in this city. They were courteously received, the President listening with patience to a memorial, about the length of an ordinary sermon in which the ground was taken that he had, alike in peace and war, full power to abolish slavery throughout the country. It contained, however, much solemn and weighty argument, upon other grounds, for immediate and universal emancipation. It is a pity that the memorial was delayed till after the President had come to a decision as to the terms of the Proclamation. It has since been presented to the Senate.

The Colony of Contrabands (some 600 in all) in Washington had a very good dinner on Christmas. Mrs. Lincoln sent them twenty-one turkeys, while others made up the dessert—a widow working in one of the Departments contributing ten dollars. The rumors that contrabands are being sent to the North are idle, so far as Washington and vicinity are concerned. The demand for male and female labor is greater than the supply in that region, and must be for some time to come. It is only the sick, the aged, the children, and women with small children, who are a care and expense to the benevolent. They are about one-sixth of those who escape.

The Legislature of New York assembled on Tuesday. The Senate, being largely Republican, organized at once. In the Assembly there were two ballots for Speaker, both standing 63 to 63. The House adjourned without an election.

Gerrit Smith's Speech.—The admirable speech "On the Country," delivered by Mr. Smith at the Cooper Institute, Dec. 21, has been published in pamphlet form, and will be mailed, post paid, for a three-cent stamp sent to this office.

Proceedings of Congress.

Both Houses of Congress assembled on Monday, the holiday recess having terminated. The only important measure—important, we mean, for record in these columns—thus far acted upon, is the bill providing aid for the abolition of slavery in Missouri, which passed the House, yeas 73, nays 46. It will now go to the Senate, where it is likely, we understand, to be somewhat modified. It provides for the issue of ten million thirty years' bonds, payable to loyal owners, the government pledging itself to the deportation and colonization of the freedmen. It is thought that the estimated average value of $300 a slave is altogether too high, and it is apprehended that the appropriation voted is much beyond what is required, even at that rate. The few Republican votes cast against the bill in the House are accounted for by these considerations.

In the course of the discussion on this bill, Mr. Wickliffe of Kentucky took occasion to utter a bitter tirade against the Proclamation of Freedom, and to declare, "in the face of Heaven, in the presence of Congress, and in the hearing of the nation, that not one man in three hundred in Kentucky was in favor of it—he said this again and again—whether it be by fraud, purchase or otherwise." His statement, however, is contradicted by gentlemen who know well the sentiments of the State. They say that a very large proportion of the thoroughly loyal believe the proclamation to be a necessary and useful means for the suppression of the rebellion.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News.

The valiant Rosecranz, after one of the bloodiest and fiercest battles ever fought, has won a great victory. The scene of conflict was Murfreesboro, Tenn., and the enemy, after three days of hard fighting, retreated in confusion toward Tullahoma. The losses of the enemy are very heavy. Among their Generals, Rains and Hanson are killed, and Gladson, Adams and Breckinridge are wounded. It is also reported that McCoun is killed. The Union loss is estimated at 1,100 killed and about 6,000 wounded, beside several thousand prisoners. Our success in this great battle is doubtless due, in a great measure, to the cutting of the railroad in Tennessee by the expedition under Gen. Carter, which prevented the reinforcement of the rebel army from Richmond.

Gen. Sherman has taken Vicksburg—at least so say the rebel papers, and the news from Union sources makes it probable that such is the fact. We know that, on Dec. 28, after fighting three days, he had carried three lines of the enemy's works, and the firing on the fourth and last line had ceased, indicating that it also had been captured; and all that lay between Gen. Sherman and the city was the trestle-work of the railroad.

The forces expected up the Mississippi had not arrived.

The Army and the Negroes.

"Everywhere the American General receives his most useful and reliable information from the Negro, who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom."—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

From South Carolina.—The following proclamation heralded the new year in the Department of the South:

A HAPPY NEW YEAR'S GREETING TO THE COLORED PEOPLE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH.

In accordance, as I believe, with the will of our Heavenly Father, and by direction of your great and good friend, whose name you are all familiar with, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, on the 1st day of January, 1863, you will be declared "forever free."

When in the course of human events there comes a day which is destined to be an everlasting beacon-light, marking a joyful era in the progress of a nation and the hopes of a people, it seems to be fitting the occasion that it should not pass unnoticed by those whom it comes to brighten and to bless. Such a day to you is January 1, 1863.

I therefore call upon all the colored people in this Department to assemble on that day at the Headquarters of the 1st Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers, there to hear the President's Proclamation read, and to indulge in such other manifestations of joy as may be called forth by the occasion. It is your duty to carry this good news to your brethren who are still in slavery. Let all your voices, like merry bells, join loud and clear in the grand chorus of liberty—"We are free," "We are free"—until, listening, you shall hear its echoes coming back from every cabin in the land—"We are free," "We are free."

R. Saxton, Brig. Gen. and Military Governor.

In accordance with the above order, the steamers Flora and Boston, laden with a heavy freight of dusky humanity, arrived opposite the landing at Smith's, Beaufort, S. C., at noon on Thursday, the 1st inst. As soon as the landing was made a procession was formed, and, with the band of the 8th Maine Volunteers at its head, marched to the spacious live-oak grove in the rear of the plantation mansion.

Here a stand was erected on which were seated Gen. Saxton, Chaplain French, Col. Higginson, Collector Severance, Dr. Brisbane, Dr. Peck, and numerous other prominent personages. The ceremonies were opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Fowler, Chaplain of the 1st South Carolina Vols., after which an original ode, composed for the occasion by Prof. Zachos of Antioch College, was sung. The Proclamation of the President and Gen. Saxton's address were next read. A set of colors, the gift of the Rev. Dr. Cheever's Church in this city, was then presented to the regiment by the Rev. Mr. French, Col. Higginson receiving the flags in behalf of the regiment, and calling upon Sergeant Rivers and Corporal Sutton, to whose care he intrusted them, for speeches. They were given with great animation, and were received with tumultuous applause. Speeches were also made by Gen. Saxton, Mrs. Frances D. Gage, and others, and the crowd then adjourned to the eating ground, where a barbecue, consisting of twelve roasted oxen, and numerous barrels of molasses and water, was soon disposed of. About 4 o'clock the negroes reëmbarked for their homes, having participated in the celebration of the happiest New Year's day that has ever dawned upon them.

Rebel Murder of Blacks.—During the terrible fighting around Murfreesboro, the rebel cavalry, being stronger than ours, penetrated to the rear of the Union army, and destroyed a part of our munitions and baggage. They found some negroes in charge of our waggons, of whom twenty failed to escape; and those unarmed, unresisting men were forthwith murdered. And this is the way blacks will be "delivered up to the authorities of their respective States," if Jeff. should not be forced to recall his bloody decree. The States may indeed get their bodies, but they will have been relieved of their souls.

From Louisiana.—An officer in one of the colored regiments in Louisiana says in a recent letter: "You would be surprised at the progress the blacks make in drill and in all the duties of soldiers. I find them better disposed to learn, and more orderly and cleanly, both in their persons and quarters, than the whites. Their fighting qualities have not yet been tested on a large scale, but I am satisfied that, knowing as they do that they will receive no quarter at the hands of the rebels, they will fight to the death. As an old Democrat, I felt a little repugnance at having anything to do with negroes, but having got fairly over that, am in the work. They are just as good tools to crush rebellion with as any that can be got." There are three regiments in service; the first is composed of freedmen, the second has some that were slaves, while the latter is composed almost wholly of the latter class. The headquarters of the first is at Lafourche Crossing, 52 miles from New Orleans, guarding 36 miles of the Opelousas Railroad. The second is between there and the city. The third is close by the first, working on sugar plantations.—*Tribune.*

Nineteen Negroes Hung in Charleston.—A Norfolk letter contains the following: "A British subject who came here from Charleston, S. C., within a few days, brings the information that nineteen negroes were hung in the streets just prior to his departure. This occurred in consequence of a discovery made in a rather singular manner. The whites there, for some time past have been closely watching the movements of the blacks, and thinking they observed an unusual number of funerals among them, a white man disguised himself, and, following in one of the processions, on arrival at the burying-ground he discovered that the coffin contained arms, which were taken and buried in a vault in which a number had already been deposited. The consequence of this discovery was the execution of nineteen of the most intelligent of the conspirators."

MARRIED.

Smalley—Garnaut.—In Boston, on Christmas day, by Rev. John Phillips, George Washburn Smalley, Esq., of New York, and Miss Phebe Garnaut, of Boston.

Special Notices.

Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.—The Thirtieth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Boston on Thursday and Friday, January 29th and 30th (day and evening), commencing at 10 o'clock, a.m.

This Society was organized for the utter abolition of slavery throughout the United States. However great has been the change wrought in public sentiment in favor of that godlike object—and it has been truly marvellous, in view of the mountainous obstacles in the way of success; however effectual may be the President's Emancipation Proclamation in breaking the chains of the bondmen in such rebellious sections of the country as he has just designated—and Heaven grant it may be as potent in operation as it is comprehensive in its scope; nevertheless, nothing at this hour is settled so surely as the continued enslavement of four million of the inhabitants of the land; and while any of these remain to wear the yoke, the primary object and specific work of this Society will not have been accomplished. Slavery in the so-called Border States is as inexcusable, as criminal, as revolting, as unendurable, as pregnant with evil and ruin, as in the rebellious Confederate States, and must be as vigorously and uncompromisingly assailed, until liberty is proclaimed "throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

The approaching anniversary promises to be one of surpassing interest; and it is not doubted that the friends of universal emancipation, in the various sections of the Commonwealth (and, it is hoped, beyond the limits of the State), will be encouragingly represented on the occasion. As hitherto, an additional attraction will be presented in the holding of the National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary on the evening (Wednesday, Jan. 28th) preceding the opening session of the Society.

[Further particulars hereafter.]

By order of the Board of Managers,
Edmund Quincy, President.
Robert F. Wallcut, Sec'y.

Aaron M. Powell will lecture upon *Emancipation* at
LOCKPORT, N. Y., Sunday, Jan. 11.
GOSPORT, N. Y., Monday, Jan. 12.
SOUTH BARRE, N. Y., Tuesday, Jan. 13.
MEDINA, N. Y., Wednesday, Jan. 14.
RIDGEWAY, N. Y., Thursday, Jan. 15.
BUFFALO, N. Y., Friday, Jan. 16.
COLLINS, N. Y., Sunday, Jan. 18.
KERR'S CORNERS N. Y., Monday, Jan. 19.
PONTIAC, N. Y., Tuesday, Jan. 20.

Advertisements.

THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION. By M. Augustin Cochin. Translated by Miss Mary L. Booth, translator of M. Gasparin's Works on America.—So little is positively known of the economical and social results of Emancipation in those countries where it has taken place, that the importance of this volume to the people of the United States, in the present crisis, can hardly be over estimated.

It was written at the suggestion of the learned Count Montalembert; is based entirely on official reports; and its statements, which comprehend every form of the question, are fully reliable.

Of the style and attractiveness of the book, the following extract from a notice of the French edition, in *The Christian Examiner*, may testify. It is pronounced "among the most remarkable, fascinating, and timely books of the year. It is, at once, cautious and eloquent, candid and enthusiastic, as sagacious as De Tocqueville's work on America, and as ardent as Victor Hugo's legend of the Ages. It is scientific in its arrangement, accurate in its display of facts, logical in its reasoning, and clear in its conclusions."

M. Cochin is now maire and municipal councillor of the city of Paris. He has had great advantages for research among both public and private documents, and has devoted his life to the subject on which his forthcoming volume treats. He recently received the order of knighthood from the Pope, in acknowledgment of the ability displayed in this book, to which also was recently awarded the first prize of three thousand francs by the French Academy. 12 mo. $1.50. Sent free by mail on receipt of the price.

Also,

THE REJECTED STONE; or, Insurrection vs. Resurrection in America. By a Native of Virginia. 12 mo. Cloth, 50 cents.

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The Independent opens its criticism with the significant query, "Have we an American Carlyle?"

THE TRUE STORY OF THE BARONS OF THE SOUTH; or, The Rationale of the American Conflict. By Rev. E. W. Reynolds, author of "Records of Bubbleton Parish." With Introduction by Rev. S. J. May. 12 mo. 75 cents.

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SONGS OF THE FREEDMEN OF PORT ROYAL: Collected and Arranged by Miss Lucy McKim of Philadelphia. No. 1, "Poor Rosy, Poor Gal"—No. 2, "Roll, Jordan, Roll." For sale at the Anti-Slavery Offices in New York, Philadelphia and Boston. Price, 25 cents each.

Miscellaneous Department.

THE OLD QUAKER MEETING-HOUSE IN WOODBURY, NEW JERSEY.

There is many a spot that is loved for its beauty,
  And many a one for its grandeur sublime;
And some visit those, as a part of their duty,
  Where battles were fought for the glory of crime.
But give me a view that is calm, and in keeping
  With all that can charm, when the passions are still,
Like the one now before me—through sycamores peeping—
  The old Quaker Meeting-House up on the hill.
The dear little Meeting-House, time-honored Meeting-House,
  The old-fashioned Meeting-House up on the hill.

Come, now is the time for the Friends to assemble,
  Let us pass by this gate as they pass on their way,
And mark the calm looks of the aged who tremble,
  And the bright looks of those who are younger than they.
Let us enter the door. What a strange, solemn quiet
  Seems fast settling down on each member thus still;
For they hear the still voice (may they all profit by it),
  In the old Quaker Meeting-House up on the hill.
The queer-looking Meeting-House, quiet old Meeting-House,
  The old-fashioned Meeting-House up on the hill.

No loud sounding organ, its pompous notes swelling,
  Within these plain walls ever troubled the ear;
No bell ever tolled, with its solemn voice telling
  The departure of those who are slumbering near.
But often the clear mellow voice of the preacher,
  With words full of love (spoken not by his will),
Tells of one who died for us, the only true Teacher,
  In the old Quaker Meeting-House up on the hill.
The dear little Meeting-House, shady old Meeting-House,
  The quiet old Meeting-House up on the hill.

No richly paid Rector dismisses the meeting,
  With a set form of words and an air stiff and cold,
But with shaking of hands and a kind friendly greeting,
  They break up the meeting like Quakers of old.
Are they not brothers all, sisters and cousins?
  So loving they seem and so full of good will.
I love the drab bonnets which go by the dozens
  To the old Quaker Meeting-House up on the hill,
The snug little Meeting-House, time-honored Meeting-House,
  The old Quaker Meeting-House up on the hill.

BENJAMIN BANNEKER, THE NEGRO ASTRONOMER.

In these days, when strong interests, embodied in fierce parties, are clashing, one recalls the French proverb of those who make so much noise that you cannot hear God thunder. It does not take much noise to drown the voice of a violin; but go to the hill a fourth of a mile off, and the noises shall die away at its base, whilst the music shall be heard. Those who can remove themselves away from and above the plane of party-din can hear God's modulated thunder in the midst of it, uttering ever a "certain tone and measured music." And such can hear now the great voice at the sepulchre's door of a race, saying, Come forth! This war is utterly inexplicable except as the historic method of delivering the African race in America from slavery, and this nation from the crime and curse inevitably linked therewith in the counsels of God, which are the laws of nature. If the friends of freedom in the government do not understand this, it is plain enough that the myrmidons of slavery throughout the land understand it. And hence it is that we are witnessing their unremitting efforts to exasperate the prejudices of the vulgar against the negro, and to prove degradation and slavery to be his normal condition. They point to his figure as sculptured on ancient monuments, bearing chains, and claim that his enslavement is lawful as immemorial custom; but as well point to the brass collars on our Saxon forefathers' necks to prove *their* enslavement lawful. The fact that slavery belonged to a patriarchal age is the very reason why it is impracticable in a republican age—as its special guardians in this country seem to have discovered. But this question is now scarcely actual. The South, by its first blow against the Union and the Constitution, whose neutrality toward it was its last and only protection from the spirit of the age, did, like the simple fisherman, unseal the casket in which the Afreet had been so long dwarfed. He is now escaping. Thus far, indeed, he is so much escaped force; for, he might be bearing our burdens for us, if we only rubbed up the lamp which the genie obeys. But whether we shall do this or not, it is very certain that he is now emerging from the sea and the casket, and into it will descend no more. Henceforth the negro is to take his place in the family of races; and no studies can be more suitable to our times than those which recognize his special capacity.

The questions raised by military exigencies have brought before the public the many interesting facts drawn from the history of Hayti and from our own Revolution, showing the heroism of the negro, though we doubt whether they can surpass the stories of Tunall, Smalls, and others, which have led a high European authority to observe that in this war no individual heroism among the whites has equalled that of the blacks. But the forthcoming social questions concerning the negro will be even more exciting than the military. What are we to expect from the unsealed Afreet—good or evil? It was whilst studying in this direction, that I came upon the few facts which relate to Benjamin Banneker—facts which, though not difficult of access, are scarcely known beyond the district in Maryland where, on the spot where he was born, his unadorned grave receives now and then a visit from some pilgrim of his own race who has found out the nobleness which Jefferson recognized and Condorcet admired.

Benjamin Banneker was born in Baltimore County, near the village of Ellicott's Mills, in the year 1732. There was not a drop of the white man's blood in his veins. His father was born in Africa, and his mother's parents were both natives of Africa. What genius he had, then, must be credited to that race. Benjamin's mother was a remarkable woman, and of a remarkable family. Her name was Morton, before marriage, and a nephew of hers, Greenbury Morton, was gifted with a lively and impetuous eloquence which made its mark in his neighborhood. Of him it is related that he once came to a certain election-precinct in Baltimore County to deposit his vote; for prior to the year 1809, negroes with certain property-qualifications voted in Maryland. It was in this year, in which the law restricting the right of voting to free whites was passed, that Morton, who had not heard of its passage, came to the polls. When his vote was refused, Morton in a state of excitement took his stand on a door-step, and was immediately surrounded by the crowd, whom he addressed in a strain of passionate and prophetic eloquence which bore all hearts and minds with him. He warned them that the new law was a step backward from the standard which their fathers had raised in the Declaration, and which they had hoped would soon be realized in universal freedom; that that step, unless retraced, would end in bitter and remorseless revolutions. The crowd was held in breathless attention, and none were found to favor the new law.

This man, we have said, was the nephew of Benjamin's mother. She was a woman of remarkable energy, and after she was seventy years of age was accustomed to run down the chickens she wished to catch. Her husband was a slave when she married him, but it was a very small part of her life's task to purchase his freedom. Together they soon bought a farm of one hundred acres, which we find conveyed by Richard Gist to Robert Bannaky (as the name was then spelt), and Benjamin Bannaky, his son (then five years old), on the tenth of March, 1737, for the consideration of seven thousand pounds of tobacco. The region in which Benjamin was born was almost a wilderness; for in 1732 Elkridge Landing was of more importance than Baltimore; and even in 1751 this city consisted only of some twenty poor houses straggling on the hills to the right of Jones's Falls. The residence of the Bannekers was ten miles into the wilderness from these.

It was under these unpromising circumstances that little Benjamin grew up, his destiny being apparently nothing more than to work on the little farm beside his poor and ignorant parents. When he was approaching manhood, he went, in the intervals of toil, to an obscure and remote country school; for, until the cotton-gin made negroes too valuable on the animal side for the human side to be allowed anything so perilous as education, there were to be found here and there in the South fountains whereat even negroes might slake their thirst for learning. At this school Benjamin acquired a knowledge of reading and writing, and advanced in arithmetic as far as "Double Position." Beyond these rudiments he was entirely his own teacher. After leaving school he had to labor constantly for his own support; but he lost nothing of what he had acquired. It is a frequent remark that up to a certain point the negroes learn even more rapidly than white children under the same teaching, but that afterward, in the higher branches, they are slow, and, some maintain, incapable. Young Banneker had no books at all, but in the midst of his labor he so improved upon and evolved what he had gained in arithmetic that his intelligence became a matter of general observation. He was such an acute observer of the natural world, and had so diligently observed the signs of the times in society, that it is very doubtful whether at forty years of age this African had his superior in Maryland.

Perhaps the first wonder amongst his comparatively illiterate neighbors was excited when, about the thirtieth year of his age, Benjamin made a clock.

It is probable that this was the first clock of which every portion was made in America; it is certain that it was as purely his own invention as if none had ever been made before. He had seen a watch, but never a clock, such an article not being within fifty miles of him. The watch was his model. He was a long time at work on the clock—his chief difficulty, as he used often to relate, being to make the hour, minute and second hands correspond in their motion. But at last the work was completed, and raised the admiration for Banneker to quite a high pitch among his few neighbors.

The making of the clock proved to be of great importance in assisting the young man to fulfil his destiny. It attracted the attention of the Ellicott family, who had just begun a settlement at Ellicott's Mills. They were well-educated men, with much mechanical knowledge, and some of them Quakers. They sought out the ingenious negro, and he could not have fallen into better hands. It was in 1787 that Benjamin received from Mr. George Ellicott Mayer's "Tables," Ferguson's "Astronomy," and Leadbetter's "Lunar Tables." Along with these, some astronomical instruments, also, were given him. Mr. Ellicott, prevented from telling Benjamin anything concerning the use of the instruments for some time after they were given, went over to repair this omission one day, but found that the negro had discovered all about them and was already quite independent of instruction. From this time astronomy became the great object of Banneker's life, and in its study he almost disappeared from the sight of his neighbors. He was unmarried, and lived alone in the cabin and on the farm which he had inherited from his parents. He had still to labor for his living; but he so simplified his wants as to be enabled to devote the greater portion of his time to astronomical studies. He slept much during the day, that he might the more devotedly observe at night the heavenly bodies whose laws he was slowly, but surely, mastering.

And now he began to have a taste of that persecution to which every genius under similar circumstances is subject. He was no longer seen in the field, where formerly his constancy had gained him a reputation for industry, and some who called at his cabin during the day-time found him asleep; so he began to be spoken of as a lazy fellow, who would come to no good, and whose age would disappoint the promise of his youth. There was a time when this so excited his neighbors against him that he had serious fears of disturbance. A memorandum in his handwriting, dated December 18, 1790, states:

"—— —— informed me that —— stole my horse and great coat, and that the said —— intended to murder me when opportunity presented. —— —— gave me a caution to let no one come into my house after dark."

The names were originally written in full; but they were afterward carefully cancelled, as though Banneker had reflected that it was wrong to leave on record an unauthenticated assertion against an individual, which, if untrue, might prejudice him by the mere fact that it had been made.

Very soon after the possession of the books already mentioned, Banneker determined to compile an almanac, that being the most familiar use that occurred to him of the information he had acquired. To make an almanac was a very different thing then from what it would be now, when there is an abundance of accurate tables and rules. Banneker had no aid whatever from men or tables; and Mr. George Ellicott, who procured some tables and took them to him, states that he had advanced far in the preparation of the logarithms necessary for his purpose. A memorandum in his calculations at this time, thus corrects an error in Ferguson's Astronomy:

"It appears to me that the wisest men may at times be in error: for instance, Dr. Ferguson informs us, that, when the sun is within 12 deg. of either node at the time of full, the moon will be eclipsed; but I find, that, according to his method of projecting a lunar eclipse, there will be none by the above elements, and yet the sun is within 11 46 11 of the moon's ascending node. But the moon being in her apogee prevents the appearance of this eclipse."

Another memorandum makes the following corrections:

"Errors that ought to be corrected in my Astronomical Tables are these: 2d vol. Leadbetter, p. 204, when ☽ anomaly is 1^s 30°, the equation 3° 30' 41'' ought to have been 3° 28' 41''. In ♂ equation, p. 155, the logarithm of his distance from ☉ ought to have been 6 in the second place from the index, instead of 7, that is, from the time that his anomaly is 3^s 24° until it is 4^s 0°."

Both Ferguson and Leadbetter would have been amazed, had they been informed that their elaborate works had been reviewed and corrected by a negro in the then unheard-of valley of the Patapsco.

The first almanac prepared by Banneker for publication was for the year 1792. By this time his acquirements had become generally known, and amongst those who were attracted by them was James McHenry, Esq. Mr. McHenry wrote to Goddard and Angell, then the almanac publishers of Baltimore, and procured the publication of this work, which contained, from the pen of Mr. McHenry, a brief notice of Banneker. In their editorial notice Goddard and Angell say, "They feel gratified in the opportunity of presenting to the public through their press what must be considered as an extraordinary effort of genius—a complete and accurate Ephemeris for the year 1792, calculated by a sable son of Africa," etc. And they further say that "they flatter themselves that a philanthropic public, in this enlightened era, will be induced to give their patronage and support to this work, not only on account of its intrinsic merits (it having met the approbation of several of the most distinguished astronomers of America, particularly the celebrated Mr Rittenhouse), but from similar motives to those which induced the editors to give this calculation the preference, the ardent desire of drawing modest merit from obscurity, and controverting the long-established illiberal prejudice against the blacks."

Banneker was himself entirely conscious of the bearings of his case upon the position of his people; and though remarkable for an habitual modesty, he solemnly claimed that his works had earned respect for the African race. In this spirit he wrote to Thomas Jefferson, then Secretary of State under Washington, transmitting a manuscript copy of his almanac. The letter is a fervent appeal for the down-trodden negro, and a protest against the injustice and inconsistency of the United States toward that color. Mr. Jefferson's reply is as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, PA., August 30, 1791.

"SIR: I thank you sincerely for your letter of the 19th instant, and for the almanac it contained. Nobody wishes more than I do to see such proofs as you exhibit, that nature has given to our black brethren talents equal to those of the other colors of men, and that the appearance of a want of them is owing only to the degraded condition of their existence both in Africa and America. I can add with truth that no one wishes more ardently to see a good system commenced for raising the condition both of their body and mind to what it ought to be, as fast as the imbecility of their present existence, and other circumstances which cannot be neglected, will admit. I have taken the liberty of sending your almanac to Monsieur de Condorcet, Secretary of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, and Member of the Philanthropic Society, because I considered it a document to which your whole color had a right for their justification against the doubts which have been entertained of them.

"I am, with great esteem, sir,
"Your most obedient serv't,
"THO. JEFFERSON."

When his first almanac was published, Banneker was fifty-nine years of age, and had received tokens of respect from all the scientific men of the country. The commissioners appointed after the adoption of the Constitution in 1789 to run the lines of the District of Columbia invited the presence and assistance of Banneker, and treated him as an equal. They invited him to take a seat at their table; but he declined, and requested a separate table.

Banneker continued to calculate and publish almanacs until the year 1802. Besides numerous valuable astronomical and mathematical notes found amongst his papers are observations of passing events, showing that he had the mind of a philosopher. For instance:

"27*th Aug.* 1797. Standing at my door, I heard the discharge of a gun, and in four or five seconds of time the small shot came rattling about me, one or two of which struck the house; which plainly demonstrates that the velocity of sound is greater than that of a cannon-bullet."

"23*d Dec.* 1790. About 3 o'clock A.M., I heard a sound and felt a shock like unto heavy thunder. I went out, but could not observe any cloud. I therefore conclude it must be a great earthquake in some part of the globe."

In April, 1800, he writes:

"The first great locust year that I can remember was 1749. I was then about seventeen years of age, when thousands of them came creeping up the trees. I imagined they came to destroy the fruit of the earth, and would occasion a famine in the land. I therefore began to destroy them, but soon saw that my labor was in vain. Again, in the year 1766, seventeen years after their first appearance, they made a second. I then, being about thirty-four years of age, had more sense than to endeavor to destroy them, knowing they were not so pernicious to the fruit as I had imagined. Again, in the year 1783, which was seventeen years later, they made their third appearance to me; and they may be expected again in 1800. The female has a sting in her tail as sharp and hard as a thorn, with which she perforates the branches of trees, and in the holes lays eggs. The branch soon dies and falls. Then the egg, by some occult cause, immerges a great depth into the earth, and there continues for the space of seventeen years, as aforesaid."

The following is worthy of Pliny:

"In the month of January, 1797, on a pleasant day for the season, I observed my honey-bees to be out of their hives, and they seemed to be very busy, excepting one hive. Upon examination, I found all the bees had evacuated this hive, and left not a drop behind them. On the 9th of February ensuing, I killed the neighboring hives of bees, and found a great quantity of honey, considering the season, which I imagine the stronger had taken from the weaker, and the weaker had pursued them to their home, resolved to be benefited by their labor, or die in the contest."

Mr. Benjamin H. Ellicott, who was a true friend of Banneker, and collected from various sources all the facts concerning him, wrote in a letter as follows:

"During the whole of his long life he lived respectably and much esteemed by all who became acquainted with him, but more especially by those who could fully appreciate his genius and the extent of his acquirements. Although his mode of life was regular and extremely retired,—living alone, having never married, cooking his own victuals and washing his own clothes, and scarcely ever being absent from home,—yet there was nothing misanthropic in his character; for a gentleman who knew him thus speaks of him: 'I recollect him well. He was a brave-looking, pleasant man, with something very noble in his appearance. His mind was evidently much engrossed in his calculations; but he was glad to receive the visits which we often paid him.' Another writes: 'When I was a boy I became very much interested in him, as his manners were those of a perfect gentleman: kind, generous, hospitable, humane, dignified, and pleasing, abounding in information on all the various subjects and incidents of the day, very modest and unassuming, and delighting in society at his own house. I have seen him frequently. His head was covered with a thick suit of white hair, which gave him a very dignified and venerable appearance. His dress was uniformly of superfine drab broadcloth, made in the old style of a plain coat, with straight collar and long waistcoat, and a broad-brimmed hat. His color was not jet-black, but decidedly negro. In size and personal appearance, the statue of Franklin at the library in Philadelphia, as seen from the street, is a perfect likeness of him. Go to his house when you would, either by day or night, there was constantly standing in the middle of the floor a large table covered with books and papers. As he was an eminent mathematician, he was constantly in correspondence with other mathematicians in this country, with whom there was an interchange of questions of difficult solution.'"

Banneker died in the year 1804, beloved and respected by all who knew him. Though no monument marks the spot where he was born and lived a true and high life and was buried, yet history must record that the most original scientific intellect which the South has yet produced was that of the pure African, Benjamin Banneker.—*Moncure D. Conway, in The Atlantic Monthly.*

SLAVERY.

What has it done! Go, ask the dead who lie,
  The slaughtered dead, on shell-plowed hill and plain,
And crimsoned marsh, scorched 'neath a burning sky,
  And oh! beneath the deep and solemn main.

What has it done! Go, ask the hosts who stand,
  The bannered hosts, in battle's harness strong,
In darkling columns, terrible and grand,
  With blades unsheathed, and blazing cannon, long.

And O! go ask the black and iron gun
  That hurls volcanic thunder in its breath,
That hides with smoke the brightness of the sun,
  And gathers manhood in the pall of death.

Ask crumbling battlements and tottered walls,
  And blackened plains, and cities proud brought low;
And muffled drums, and trumpets' startling calls,
  And shrieks of agony, and wails of woe.

And oh! go ask yon drooping banner fair,
  Which floated once in pride on every sea,
What touches the blood stains on its star-folds there?
  What mocks its fame with foulest tyranny!

What gave the Merrimac its iron beak!
  What filled with treason-men the Sumter's deck!
What sunk our ships, or left them all to reek
  With burning shells, till each was but a wreck?

What makes old jealous Britain fondly dream
  To send her hostile fleets across the sea,
Whose threat'ning decks with shining steel shall gleam,
  And sides shall frown with war's grim blazonry?

And ask the poor old slave what wrought her woe;
  Why fettered in a world so large and fair;
Why bends she silent to the Southron's blow,
  While tyrants from her arms her children tear!

And oh! that lovely girl—she too, a slave,
  While through her veins the Saxon blood runs free.
Holding the child that sin, not marriage gave,
  Ask her what robbed her of her chastity.

And why the vanished smile, the missing tone,
  The footstep, that alas! shall greet no more
The waiting ear, and vacant hearth-stone lone,
  And hand-clasps, thrilling sweet, forever o'er?

Ask woman what has ruined that fair form
  On which so oft her eye hath gazed in pride,
And what the missing hand, so true and warm,
  And arm, which held her up when by his side.

That wife, what broke her heart! why weeps her eye
  With daily tears! why waking all the night,
For him who by her side no more may lie,
  Whose heart is cold and cheek in death is white?

What swept the maiden's glowing hopes away?
  What robbed her of her noble, fond, and brave
What put forever off the bridal day,
  And made her nuptial couch a lover's grave?

What crushed the mother's heart, and left him there,
  Whose baby-lips so oft had drained her breast,
Dying alone, and in the cold, night air,
  Without her gentle arms around him pressed?

Dying alone! O God! yet not alone,
  'Mid corpses pale, and forms which writhed in pain;
'Mid bitter shrieks and death's last feeble moan,
  Calling to her, unheard, from that far plain.

What was it slew brave Lyon, gloriously
  Who met the foe like hunted chiefs of old,
And sleeps to-day beneath the dark pine tree,
  When struggling moonbeams quiver, pale and cold?

And what our gallant Baker? He whose soul
  Held converse with the stars; whose flowing lip
Held men in awe, as when the sea-waves roll,
  Or when the eagle bends his wings to dip.

And what a Lowell, whose fair, youthful cheek
  Had oft been fanned with sunny winds of France;
And lend a hero mind in softest accents speak—
  Where gay the blue [illegible] bright waves dance!

Winthrop and Ellsworth, Lander and, alas!
  ('Mid such as dared 'neath battle-banners die,)
Who sleep to-day beneath the rank grown grass,
  Below whose nodding blades their white bones lie!

Ay! those slain hosts for whom Fame never blew
  The trumpet-note to tell us of their fall;
Who lie 'neath winter's snow and summer's dew,
  With nothing but the soldier's coat their pall!

And Prentiss! what hath mingled with the bays
  That gird his brow the cypress leaves of woe!
What hushed the voice that charmed his happier days,
  And laid his brave, his beautiful—how low?

Oh! when within that heart there comes the cry—
  The bitter cry: "What robbed me of my son?"
Then look adown where souls in bondage lie,
  And that shall tell thee what the deed hath done.

And what has made the crowning eagle stoop
  From off the gilded Fane, on Freedom's dome,
Like some sick, wounded bird, whose pale wings droop
  Within our own America, its home?

To which wet, trembling eyes in bondage turn,
  From Albion's isle to Russia's frozen shore,
From Afric's deserts wild, whose hot sands burn,
  And Asia's plains, which Arab steeds roam o'er.

And Freedom, what, oh! what hath dimmed the light
  Of thy fair crown, and hid the heaving gem,
That lovely orb, the star of peace, so bright,
  Which glittered, foremost, in thy diadem?

And what, alas! has pierced thy tender heart,
  With two-edged darts, made from the Upas tree,
And snapped thy sacred pinnacle in part,
  And ravaged thy fair temple ruthlessly?

O Slavery! the crimes of fiends are thine—
  The blood of men, a nation's overthrow—
The rack, the scourge, the flames, thy realms define—
  Thy origin and final place, below.

Alas! must Freedom's peerless structure lie
  Ruined and crushed, in Slavery's wanton fangs,
And we behold brave, noble manhood die;
  And witness *still* a nation's dying pangs?

Have mercy, Lord, on our dishonored land,
  And haste to seal the Dagon slavery's doom;
And stay not, Lord, thine own avenging hand,
  Till Freedom's shrine be reared on Slavery's tomb.

—*N. Y. Sunday Mercury.*   SARAH SOMNER LEWIS.

CHARLOTTE BRONTE.

The world bends with infinite tenderness over the story of that woman who had no beauty and no blessing, out on the Yorkshire moors. We pity her for the dismal scrawny school of her childhood, where food for the outer and the inner life was alike hard and crusty and mouldy. We pity her for the lonely drudgery, so hapless and so hopeless, out in Brussels, as we see her sit down to it, while her wings bleed beating the bars of her cage, and the music soars within her—

"And the life still drags her downward
To its level, day by day,
What is fine within her growing
Coarse to sympathetic clay."

Our lips tremble as we see that striving after some touch of grace and beauty to deck the hard gray home, though it embody itself in no better thing than a bright little frock and a pair of tiny red shoes—yet to see the poor blossom of grace and beauty shrivelling in the fire, put there and held there by a father harder than the home itself? We watch her, a woman while yet a child—a woman, because other little children, still more helpless, are motherless, and they can find no other nature large enough to take them in and understand and adopt them; a sister, in all sweet, ingenious, simple ways; a mother, in all wise, overbending care and love; and then, at last, a woman grown, walking over great stretches of wild country, that she might be alone with that other father and mother, the father and mother of us all, and gather strength and courage from the communion, to go back and bear her burden of a stern, half-mad father, and a reckless, lost brother, and a bare, rugged life; and we say, "Oh! why was not such a soul clothed in the beauty of June, and born in the vale of Tempe, in the golden days, and the first born and nursling of a queen?" But we say this no longer when the flower unfolds to the sun—when her books and her life, in all their native strength and fulness, reveal the mystery of the homely enfolding, and the rank, sharp contrasts of the garden-plat and the hot days and dark nights; for we see in the flower brimming with refreshment and blessing to thousands, how not to the beauty of the goddess, not to the flowery meadows and bosky dells of Arcadia, not to the first born and nursling of a queen, could this power come, but to such a soul set in such a place, to battle through and gather all the influences of such a life.—*Rev. Robert Collyer.*

THE CRY OF A LOST SOUL.*

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

In that black forest, where, when day is done,
With a snake's stillness glides the Amazon
Darkly from sunset to the rising sun,

A cry, as of the pained heart of the wood,
The long, despairing moan of solitude
And darkness and the absence of all good,

Startles the traveller, with a sound so drear,
So full of hopeless agony and fear,
His heart stands still and listens like his ear.

The guide, as if he heard a dead-bell toll,
Starts, drops his oar against the gunwale's thole,
Crosses himself and whispers: "A lost Soul!"

"No, señor, not a bird. I know it well—
It is the pained soul of some infidel,
Or cursèd heretic that cries from hell.

"Poor fool! with hope still mocking his despair,
He wanders, shrieking on the midnight air
For human pity and for Christian prayer.

"Saints strike him dumb! Our Holy Mother hath
No prayer for him who, sinning unto death,
Burns always in the furnace of God's wrath!"

Thus to the baptized pagan's cruel lie,
Lending new horror to that mournful cry,
The voyager listens, making no reply.

Dim burns the boat-lamp: shadows deepen round,
From giant trees with snakelike creepers wound,
And the black water glides without a sound.

But in the traveller's heart a secret sense
Of nature plastic to benign intents,
And an eternal good in Providence—

Lifts to the starry calm of heaven his eyes;
And lo! rebuking all earth's ominous cries,
The Cross of pardon lights the tropic skies!

"Father of all!" he urges his strong plea,
"Thou lovest all: thy erring child may be
Lost to himself, but never lost to Thee!

"All souls are Thine; the wings of morning bear
None from that Presence which is everywhere,
Nor hell itself can hide, for Thou art there.

"Through sins of sense, perversities of will,
Through doubt and pain, through guilt and shame and ill,
Thy pitying eye is on Thy creature still.

"And Thou canst make, Eternal Source and Goal!
In Thy long years life's broken circle whole,
And change to praise the cry of a lost soul!"

—*The Independent.*

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* Lt. Herndon's Report of the Exploration of the Amazon has a striking description of the peculiar and melancholy notes of a bird heard by night on the shores of the river. The Indian guides called it "The cry of a lost Soul!"

THE MOST WONDERFUL MOUNTAIN IN THE WORLD.

BY MARY H. C. BOOTH.

PONTRESINA, SWITZERLAND.

Here, among the white hills of God—

"Where the first word of creation
Loudly through the air yet rings,"

the world is just as He made it. No despot dare desecrate His altars of freedom here; for the Alpine mountains are His holy temples—His shrines, the little hills. Pomps and vanities and idleness have nothing in common with the majesty of mountain nature. Switzerland belies herself in her cities. The real Switzer can no more be transplanted from his native Alps than can the chamois. Let him go out into the world; he wonders at first, and listens; he hears but the clink of the dollar! It comes to be music by and by. Back in the stillness of twilight he wanders; faintly and more faint,

"The echoes of the voice of God
Are sounding in his soul."

Down in the valleys, the dollar; up on the hill-tops, God's smile! He waits in the cities and wavers. Men call him avaricious. He is but human. The chamois goes bounding through his day-dreams. The dear old chamois! They grow on the mountains together. Look, pretty creature, he comes! Back to the Alps and the chamois, never again to wander—never again to roam!

I have just returned from a six hours' promenade, or rather *clambering*, upon the Monteratsch glacier. It lies at the foot of the Rosatch Alp, nearly opposite the Piz Languard, by the valley of Pontresina. It is a branch of the great Bernina glacier, which extends for an uninterrupted distance of fifty miles. The range of the Bernina Alps border upon Italy. They vary in height from 8,000 to 12,000 feet.

After an energetic tramp of three hours, during which we scarcely felt the encumbrance of our bodies, owing to the exhilarating effect of the light, bracing air of the glacier, we paused to rest; and, having seated ourselves upon a pile of rocks in a glacier dell, partook of the welcome luncheon with which our provident guides had provided us. It consisted of bread, cheese, wine, and Italian sausage. The sausage, which one can eat if one must, is made of the meat of donkeys.

I had always thought of a glacier as "a sea of ice"; the geography used to say so; and I forgot that the sea had billows; but supposed a glacier was a great, unbroken plain of level, greenish, slippery ice. By no means.

The Monteratsch glacier rises abruptly from the midst of the most luxuriant moss-covered hills, bright with the berries of the Alpine rose—apparently a gigantic mass of shattered rock. The solid ice beneath was invisible. Presently the rocks diminished to stones, which gradually dissolved to pebbles, then into sand. Sand banks in the form of rolling prairies, extend for the space of half a mile. It needed but a scratch with the iron points of our Alpine sticks to discern the ice beneath. The dirty-looking sand gradually disappeared altogether, and the scene before us presented an extent of a mile, snow-covered swells, which I can liken to nothing save stationary billows. It was as if the ocean had turned to ice in the midst of a raging storm. Further on, the frozen billows rose into pointed spires, which sparkled and glittered like thousands of diamond pinnacles. They were interspersed with chasms of various depth, down whose dark-blue, smooth-cut sides we could easily look to the gurgling rills beneath. We often heard the murmuring of large water-streams below us. We were surrounded by towering Alps on every side. Down some of the "Alpine pillars"—mountains of granite in the foreground—the most charming little waterfalls came dancing. On every available spot round which a root could cling upon the overhanging ledges there were pine-trees. They produce a large, round cone, which is filled with little nuts, similar in size and form to the New England beech-nut, but without its flavor—with no flavor at all that I could perceive. They are much prized by the mountaineers. No wonder. They have no other native nuts. Chestnuts and walnuts are abundant in the lower valleys; but they like their little pine-nuts better. How they ever manage to gather them is a question I am unable to solve.

After luncheon, I bade my travelling-companions, who wished to explore a little glacier lake further on, a temporary adieu, and turned homeward alone with my guide. He had lived in a city for three years, but he thanked God he was home again.

Every Alpine tourist has heard of Colani. His father, celebrated in mountain history, was styled "the king of hunters." He is also regarded by his companions as one of the very best hunters of the day. I not only recommend him to every American and English tourist as guide, but to every poet and painter who may visit his Alpine hills, as a theme for pencil and pen. The unconscious grace and dignity of his bearing, his simplicity of life, the purity, truth, and poetry of great, though simple thoughts, cannot but render him the personified ideal of a true Switzer. My faith in the real Switzer, as we read of him, had been a little shaken during my two years' residence in the rich commercial city of Zurich. I found him here. The valley of the Engadine is all full of them; Switzers with mountain souls. They had not been molested by strangers, Colani told me, until within the last few years. "We were forgotten by the world," said he. "They left us alone with God." He said it was interesting to note the first impressions of various strangers in viewing, for the first time, the eternal hills, especially the glories of the Alpine sunset. A German preacher, on gazing upon the indescribable splendors of an Alpine twilight, burst out into singing the "Gloria in excelsis." "Oh for a pencil dipped in living light!" exclaimed an English artist. "I can never touch pallet and brush again," cried a German art-student. "*I feel so great!*" said my little American friend (Miss Mylie Fletcher of Indianapolis), as she stood up in the open carriage, and looked about on the great chain of glittering Alps, as we entered the Engadine. "The whole world is mine!" shouted the German philosopher, exultantly.

"*Ich bin in Gottes Nähe,*" answered a German countess who was dying, when asked if she did not desire the attendance of a priest. How touchingly beautiful! how sublime! "I am near God," said the dying Christian. I thought of those trustful and triumphant words, and felt—who, in the presence of His eternal hills, can but feel?—"*Ich bin in Gotte's Nähe.*" The "Switzerland" of my illustrious neighbor, the German poet Herwegh, kept welling up to my heart. As a political exile in the refuge of Switzerland, he sung—

"Land of longing! where the mountains,
  Freedom's glorious statues, stand,
As of glowing gold and silver,
  Molten by Jehovah's hand.

*   *   *   *   *

"Once I listened, while an angel
  Wandered through the lordly land,
Praying for a seed of Freedom,
  Though but a grain of sand;
And he prayed but little earth-land,
  And he prayed but little room,
Little room, and little earth-land,
  Needed Freedom's tree to bloom.

"But the lordlings called their headsmen
  To the hills, and dells, and springs,
And the angel took the seedling
  'Neath the shelter of his wings;
From the darkened land he bore it,
  To the mountain's purple shrine,
And for want of earth he laid it
  On the rocks beside the pine.

"Thus, its growing roots outspreading
  Like the tendrils of your vines,
Ever green, O Switzer, may it
  Flourish like your lofty pines,
Soft before the heaven's lightning,
  And from your own treeless land,
Safe from stranger's evil jesting,
  Switzerland! Forever stand!"

I am writing with the quill of an Alpine eagle—the gift of my guide. This morning we saw an eagle. He was starting upward for the sun—up from his home on the free hills of Switzerland. Glorious bird!

On our return we encountered a chamois. He was treading cautiously upon the margin of the glacier, and being at considerable distance, we were unnoticed by the graceful creature. The season of chamois-hunting, which lasts, by law, but six weeks, commenced yesterday. The cantonal government prohibits all save native-born citizens from the hunting of these darlings of the Alps. Strangers are sometimes allowed, through special permission, and by the paying of large sums, to join in the chamois "chase." The Alpine hunters, however, who are always on the watch, take good care that no fortunate shot is aimed by a foreign hand. No compensation, however liberal, could prove a balm to such a wound upon Alpine honor. The first chamois of the season was killed yesterday by our host (Enderlin). Part of its delicate meat was served for our dinner to-day. Its flavor reminded me of wild duck, and of the choicest portions of young deer.

We lingered at the base of Piz Languard, in nearing home, by the ruins of an ancient and picturesque tower, of which there is no history. It is evidently of Roman origin. The universal language of the Engadine (spoken by only 30,000 souls) is the *Ladin* or Romansch. It is not dissimilar to the ancient Latin as spoken by the Roman peasantry. Its entire literature is comprised in about thirty books. The first Romansch translation of the Bible was printed in the year 1679. The religion of the Engadine, save in a single town, is Protestant. The churches, which are so frequent one cannot help wondering where the people come from who fill them, are quaint, moss-covered, artistically built, and old. The inhabitants of the upper valleys resemble the Puritans in the strictness of their religious observances. "Religion" is not merely a *name* here; I believe it to be sincere as the very hills.

CONTRABAND MEETING IN WASHINGTON.

From The Washington Republican.

At the contraband camp, on Wednesday evening, the inmates assembled at an early hour and proceeded to celebrate the occasion in a manner peculiar to themselves. This meeting was suggested by the general belief that that was the last day on which the government of the United States would acknowledge the slavery of their brethren in the South.

The ceremonies included speeches, prayers, hymns and songs, among which was the following song of thanksgiving, written for the occasion by a gentleman who was present:

CONTRABANDS' SONG OF REJOICING,

1ST JANUARY, 1863.

I.

Oh! we all longed for freedom,
Oh! we all longed for freedom,
Oh! we all longed for freedom,
  Ah! we prayed to be free,
  Yes, we prayed to be free,
  Oh! we prayed to be free,
Though the day was long in coming,
Though the day was long in coming,
Though the day was long in coming,
  That we so longed to see,
  That we so longed to see,
  That we so longed to see,
Though the day was long in coming
  That we so longed to see.

II.

But bless the great Jehovah,
But bless the great Jehovah,
But bless the great Jehovah,
  At last the glad day's come;
  At last the glad day's come;
  At last the glad day's come;
By fire and sword he brought us,
By fire and sword he brought us,
By fire and sword he brought us,
  From slavery into freedom,
  From slavery into freedom,
  From slavery into freedom,
By fire and sword he brought us
  From slavery into freedom.

III.

We'll bless the great Redeemer,
We'll bless the great Redeemer,
We'll bless the great Redeemer,
  And glorify his name,
  And glorify his name,
  And glorify his name,
And all who helped to bring us,
And all who helped to bring us,
And all who helped to bring us,
  From sorrow, grief and shame,
  From sorrow, grief and shame,
  From sorrow, grief and shame,
And all who helped to bring us
  From sorrow, grief and shame.

IV.

And blessed be Abraham Lincoln,
And blessed be Abraham Lincoln,
And blessed be Abraham Lincoln,
  And the Union army, too,
  And the Union army, too,
  And the Union army, too,
May the choicest of earth's blessings,
May the choicest of earth's blessings,
May the choicest of earth's blessings,
  Their pathways ever strew,
  Their pathways ever strew,
  Their pathways ever strew,
May the choicest of earth's blessings
  Their pathways ever strew.

V.

We'll strive to learn our duty,
We'll strive to learn our duty,
We'll strive to learn our duty,
  That all our friends may see,
  That all our friends may see,
  That all our friends may see,
Tho' so long oppressed in bondage,
Tho' so long oppressed in bondage,
Tho' so long oppressed in bondage,
  We were worthy to be free,
  We were worthy to be free,
  We were worthy to be free,
Tho' so long oppressed in bondage,
  We were worthy to be free.

VI.

We'll labor late and early,
We'll labor late and early,
We'll labor late and early,
  As honest folks should do,
  As honest folks should do,
  As honest folks should do,
And be in all our dealings,
And be in all our dealings,
And be in all our dealings,
  Faithful, good and true,
  Faithful, good and true,
  Faithful, good and true,
And be in all our dealings
  Faithful, good and true.

The song was greeted with most enthusiastic applause. The meeting throughout was of a most interesting character, and they all seemed to acknowledge in gratitude to God for His manifold blessings to them, and especially in inaugurating the Emancipation policy of President Lincoln, at the mention of whose name every lip was responsive.

TALLEYRAND AND ARNOLD.

There was a day when Talleyrand arrived in Havre, on foot from Paris. It was the darkest hour of the French revolution. Pursued by the bloodhounds of his reign of terror, Talleyrand secured a passage to the United States in a ship about to sail. He was a beggar and a wanderer to a strange land, to earn his daily bread by the sweat of his brow.

"Is there any American staying at your house?" he asked the landlord of the hotel; "I am going across the water, and would like a letter to a person of influence in the new world."

"There is a gentleman up-stairs, either from America or Britain; but whether from America or England I cannot tell."

He pointed the way, and Talleyrand, who in his life was bishop, prince and minister, ascended the stairs. A miserable suppliant he stood before the stranger's room, knocked and entered. In the far corner of the dimly-lighted room sat a man of fifty years of age, his arms folded and his head bowed upon his breast. From a window directly opposite a flood of light poured upon his forehead. His eyes looked from beneath the downcast brows and upon Talleyrand's face with a peculiar and searching expression. His form, vigorous even with the snows of fifty winters, was clad in a dark but rich and distinguished costume. Talleyrand advanced, stated that he was a fugitive, and with the impression that the gentleman was an American, he solicited his kind feelings and offices. He poured forth his history in eloquent French and broken English:

"I am a wanderer and an exile. I am forced to fly to the New World, without friend or home. You are an American. Give me, then, I beseech you, a letter of yours, so that I may be able to earn my bread. I am willing to toil in any manner; a life of labor would be a paradise to a career of luxury in France. You will give me a letter to one of your friends? A gentleman like you doubtless has many friends."

The strange gentleman arose. With a look that Talleyrand never forgot, he retreated toward the door of the next chamber, his eyes looking still from beneath his darkened brow; he spoke as he retreated backward; his voice was full of meaning: "I am the only man of the New World who can raise his hand to God and say, I have not a friend, not one, in America."

Talleyrand never forgot the overwhelming sadness of the look which accompanied these words.

"Who are you?" he cried, as the strange man retreated to the next room; "your name?"

"My name," he replied, with a smile that had more of mockery than joy in its convulsive expression—"my name is Benedict Arnold."

He was gone. Talleyrand sank in the chair, gasping the words, "Arnold, the traitor!"

Thus he wandered over the earth, another Cain, with the wanderer's mark upon his brow, and his sad fate is likely to be shared by others of our own day, who are proving traitors to their native land.—*Home Monthly.*

*JOSEPH HOAG'S VISION.**

In the year 1803, in the Eighth or Ninth month, I was one day alone in the field, and observed that the sun shone clear, but a mist eclipsed its brightness. As I reflected upon the singularity of the event, my mind was struck into a silence the most solemn I ever remember to have witnessed; for all my faculties were low, and unusually brought into deep silence. I said to myself: "What can all this mean? I do not recollect ever before to have been sensible of such feelings."

And I heard a voice from Heaven saying: "This which thou seest is a sign of the present coming times. I took the forefathers of this country from a land of oppression; I placed them here among the People of the Forest; I sustained them, and while they were humble I blessed them and fed them, and they became a numerous people. But they have now become proud, and have forgotten me, who nourished them and protected them in the wilderness, and are running into every abomination and evil practice of which the old countries are guilty, and have taken quietude from the land and suffered a dividing spirit to come among them—lift up thine eyes and behold." And I saw them dividing in great heat. The division began in the Churches on points of doctrine; it commenced in the Presbyterian society, and went through the various religious denominations, and in its progress and close its effects were the same. Those who dissented went off with high heads and taunting language, and those who kept to their original sentiments appeared exercised and sorrowful. And when the dividing spirit entered the Society of Friends, it raged in as high degree as in any I had noticed or before discovered; and, as before, those who separated went off with lofty looks and taunting, censuring language. Those who kept their ancient principles retired by themselves. It next appeared in the Lodges of the Free Masons; it broke out in appearance like a volcano, inasmuch as it set the country in an uproar for a time.

Then it entered politics throughout the United States, and did not stop until it produced a civil war. An abundance of blood was shed in the course of the combat; the Southern States lost their power, and slavery was annihilated from their borders. Then a monarchical power sprung up, took the government of the States, established a National religion, and made all societies tributary to support its expenses; I saw them take property from Friends. I was amazed at beholding all this; and I heard a voice proclaiming: "This power shall not always stand; but with it I will chastise my Church, until they return to the faithfulness of their forefathers. Thou seest what is coming upon thy native country, for their iniquities and the blood of Africa; the remembrance of which has come up before me."

This vision is yet for many days. I had no idea of writing it for many years—until it became such a burden that, for my own relief, I have written it.

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* Joseph Hoag was born in the year 1762, and resided in early life in the State of New York, but removed to Vermont, where he died in 1846. His parents being members of the religious Society of Friends, he had a birth-right membership. He and his wife (Huldah) were both ministers and highly esteemed. They had a large family, and all of their children became ministers. The vision, though not printed and made public until within a few years, was well known to his family and a number of his friends many years before any part of it was fulfilled.

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